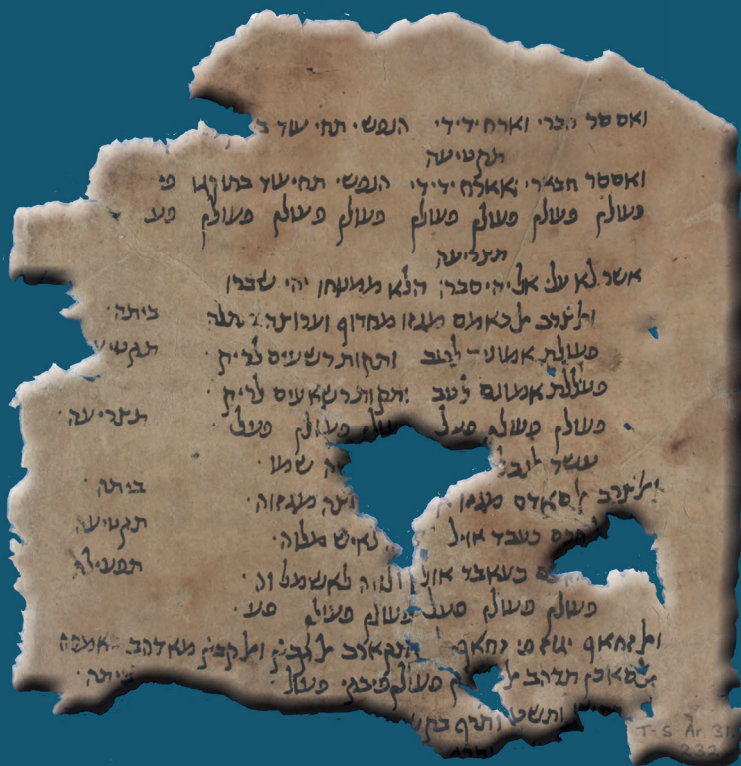


An Introduction to Andalusī Hebrew Metrics

JOSÉ MARTÍNEZ DELGADO



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ANDALUSI HEBREW
METRICS

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José Martínez Delgado





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For my friend and colleague,
Professor María José Cano Pérez, 'Quita',
on the occasion of her 70th birthday

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ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations are used in this book:

- a. after
- c. circa
- pl. plural
- r. reigned

In in-text citations of edited collections of poetry, the number given after the comma is the poem number, rather than the page number; a verse number may follow after a full stop, e.g., Brody 1935, 31.1 = Brody 1935, poem 31, verse 1. The works to which this applies are as follows: Brody 1894; 1935; 1936; Brody and Albrecht 1906; Brody and Schirmann 1974; David 1982; Jarden 1975; 1982; 1984; 1992; Mirsky 1961; Pagis 1967; Sáenz-Badillos and Targarona 1988; 1998.

PREFACE

It is not the aim of this book to make any great changes to the scholarly landscape, but rather to present my personal view of Andalusí Hebrew metrics, as I have found the technique described in medieval manuals of Arabic and Hebrew metrics and in scattered notes in the works of Andalusí Hebrew philologists. Throughout the twentieth century, scholars spoke about the adaptation of Arabic metrics to Hebrew; however, I now prefer to approach these compositions written by Andalusí Jews (10th–13th century) as Arabic metrics written in Hebrew. In doing so, I am not diminishing Andalusí Hebrew poetry or negating it as a distinct genre—quite the contrary. The greatness of the Hebrew poetry of the Andalusí Jews lies, on the one hand, in the help it provides in understanding the evolution of Arabic strophic poetry in general and, on the other, in how the poetry, especially the religious works, was able to evolve experimentally, quite unlike what is found in classical and strophic Arabic poetry.

The model that I propose is based on the primary contributions made to this topic over the course of the twentieth century by the most important scholars in the field, whose accurate and exquisite editions have allowed me to apply this form of scansion almost without having to make any alterations to their readings at all. This model has the advantage of fully respecting the Hebrew vowel system, since it is not necessary to alter the morphology of any words or leave the guttural letters quiescent, except when required by metrical licence, which will be indicated; neither is it necessary to make guesses about metres that are not in

the classical catalogue. This form of scansion has helped me to begin to understand and describe both classical-style compositions and strophic works from Alandalus, as well as the other hybrid or intermediate patterns that appear to be typical of Hebrew poetry.

It goes without saying that I have not found, and hence have not included in this manual, examples from Andalusī Hebrew poetry of each and every classical metre. Nevertheless, I catalogue them all (using a smaller font size when I have not found examples of the sequences), either because someone else may find them in my wake or because they help us to comprehend the metrical structures that are characteristic of strophic poetry. It is quite possible that I have erred in the scansion of a certain poem, in which case I hope to be forgiven, but the genius of the authors and the state of some the editions have not made it easy for me. The same applies to the translations of the examples, which slowed me down significantly—even though they were not necessary, because it is not the content that is important here—and there are many specialists who have known and will know how to translate these verses and poems much better than I.

When I first began to study the science of medieval Arabic metrics (*‘ilm al‘arūḍ*) from the perspective of my Western education, the feeling that came over me was that everything that I had been told bore no resemblance whatsoever to the picture reflected in the medieval treatises. Slowly I came to understand that, at least in the case of Andalusī Hebrew poetry, as many as four different models were involved (Martínez Delgado 2017, 17–

32; 2020): the original or indigenous model, characteristic of the Arab world, which I describe in these pages; the Romance or reduced model (*yated-těnu‘a*), typical of Christian regions;² the European model, an adaptation of that used in classical Greek, crafted during the Enlightenment (see Cano Pérez 1987, 31–38); and the Israeli model, a mixture of the other three, devised by David Yellin (1939; 1940, 44–53) based on the first codifications of Judah Halevi’s metrics by Heinrich Brody (1895). My bewilderment when I had to apply the modern theoretical descriptions of Arabic metrics by Carl Caspari and William Wright (1995, Part fourth: Prosody) to the scansion of medieval poems was, without a doubt, a consequence of the supremacy of the European model devised by William Jones (1777), which reduced the *‘arūḏ* to a mere adaptation of Greek metrics, over the original, indigenous model.

This led me to reconsider the original Arabic model, beginning first with some basic descriptions written in Morocco. Particularly notable among these is the manual by ‘Atīq (1987), used in many Moroccan universities for the study of this discipline. Another extremely interesting text, written by Álvarez Sanz y Tubau (1919), dates back to the time of the Spanish Protectorate in Morocco. These works gave me direct access to the most renowned medieval treatises, penned by Ibn ‘Abdrabihi (Amīn 1948), Ibn Ğinnī (Farhūd 1972), Attabrīzī (‘Abdallāh 1966), Arraba‘ī (Badrān 2000), and the like. The fortuitous finding of frag-

² The first allusions to this model are found in the writings of the Andalusī Jews who settled in Provence after the Almohad conquest of 1146.

ments of a book of Hebrew metrics in the Cairo Genizah (Martínez Delgado 2017) and the contributions made to the study of Arabic metrics by Professors Muḥammad ben Othman (2004) and Federico Corriente (1997) did the rest.

Even so, my feeling of unease and helplessness did not abate. Either a history of this discipline and its medieval literature does not exist, or I have never found it.¹² Neither has the first known manual of the *‘arūḍ*, attributed to its inventor, the noted linguist Alḥalīl ibn Aḥmad Alfarāhīdī (718–786), been preserved. In fact, the oldest known systematic description of this Eastern science was written in Cordoba by Ibn ‘Abdrabbihi (860–940), being included in his famous *Kitāb al‘iqd alfarīd* under the heading Second Gem: On the Art of Metrics and Rhyme (Amin et al. 1948, V:424–518), which puts a century and almost 7,000 kilometres between this work and the original by Alḥalīl. The fact is that the science of the *‘arūḍ* found it difficult to carve out its own space as a discipline within the complex network of language sciences that already existed in the Middle Ages. The aforementioned second gem by Ibn ‘Abdrabbihi, a fascicle included in a repertoire of *adab*, was the first step. Only later did the study of the subject reach maturity in the form of independent treatises that were substantial enough even to be broken down into separate discussions of metrics and rhyme. To some extent, the *‘arūḍ*

¹² The most complete description of the Arabic metrical system to date is that by Frolov 2000, but it does not include even a brief description of the medieval history of this art, or the main authors on the subject and their works.

was an indispensable science in this context, since the composition of poetry as conceived of in the circles of power at the time depended on it.

The science of the *‘arūḍ* is complex; much work on this topic remains to be done, and there is still no synthesis that summarises both its origins and the main theories developed during the medieval period. The broad and extensive literature in which these theories are found is still largely unpublished and uncatalogued. The case of Alandalus serves as an illustration. A superficial search through the monumental reference work, *Biblioteca de al-Andalus*, in the encyclopaedia of Andalusī culture (Lirola Delgado and Puerta Vílchez 2004–2013) finds approximately 50 medieval authors who wrote monographs dedicated to the *‘arūḍ*, more than enough to provide some idea of the situation. Of this entire roster, however, only four treatises have been published (two by the same author) and another three manuscripts are known (two held in the El Escorial library); all the others are believed to be lost. Moreover, except in the case of *‘Abbās ibn Firnās*, whose treatise is also thought to be lost, most of these works were written during the protracted period that began with the *alfitna albarbariya* (1009–1031) and ended with the surrender of Granada in 1492. These works are known thanks to the secondary sources that cite them, which, in most cases, indicate that they served as the author’s teaching materials. Therefore, it seems that from the early eleventh century, at least in Alandalus, metrics became sufficiently important and well developed to be an independent discipline, associated with a plethora of authors

and teachers in both Arabic and Hebrew—a science whose mysteries captured the attention of not only Muslims, but also Jews and Christians, as this book will show.

In addition to the general lack of academic literature on the history of the *‘arūḍ*, I must note another difficulty. When I began to read the medieval treatises, I discovered that, as with all the sciences, not every author shared the same criteria when it came to addressing basic questions, such as the minimum number of units required to form a foot, the number of feet, and even the number of metres that had to be included in a catalogue of metres.

As is well known, metrical feet are made up of basic units, or elementary prosodic units (EPU), to use the terminology of Dimitri Frolov (see Frolov 2000, 314–18; Sánchez Sancha 1984–1985). All the manuals agree about the existence of two of these—*sabab* and *watid*—but not all include the units known as *fāšila*. Regarding the number of feet, some manuals speak of eight and others of ten; some even argue that Alḥalīl originally only established six. Something similar occurs with the number of metres, with some manuals including only the original 15 codified by Alḥalīl and others also the one introduced by his disciple Alahfaš. Not included, as a rule, are the metres derived a posteriori (*muhmal*) by theoreticians of the *‘arūḍ* that complete the sequences of the classical metrical circles.

Based on this experience—and with all these remaining doubts—I now present a new catalogue for the study of Andalusī Hebrew metrics. This method attempts to recover and understand this important art, which has disappeared, even from some of the

most recent editions of Andalusí Hebrew poetry. I would like to emphasise that it is not my intention to change how we approach the study of Andalusí Hebrew poetry, but only to help us better understand the metrical structure of this poetry, in order to facilitate for future editors the work of editing and cataloguing the samples that are still in manuscript form; I gave up the fight to bring this topic back to the classroom even before I began.

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.0. The Origins of the *‘arūḍ* and its Study in Alandalus

For the Arabs, the *‘arūḍ* is the science that distinguishes good verses from bad, and identifies what modifications and irregularities affect them. It is a metrical system, codified, according to tradition, by the renowned grammarian from Basra, Alḥalīl ibn Aḥmad Alfarāhīdī (718–791). While some authors see this codification as the result of a divine concession or intervention that followed Alḥalīl’s pilgrimage to Mecca (‘Abbās 1968–1972, II:244), others argue that it was the blows on the cauldrons at the souk that helped him to mark the rhythms (Farraḡ 1968, 95–96); others, that he let himself be carried away by his affection and respect for contemporary poets who used metres that were strange to the Arabs (Alhāšimī 2006, 11); and yet others, that it was a coincidental discovery resulting from living alongside singers in Mecca (Ya‘qūb 1991, 337).

Of these four versions, the prevailing legend in the Islamic literary tradition of the ninth, tenth, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries was the one that related that, during his pilgrimage to Mecca, Alḥalīl prayed to God to grant him the discovery of a new science never before developed by anyone and, upon returning home, he codified the *‘arūḍ* (see, e.g., ‘Abbās 1968–1972, II:244). The oldest account of the discovery of the *‘arūḍ* that I have found, meanwhile, is transmitted by the Abbasid Prince Ibn Almu‘tazz

(861–905; Farraġ 1968, 95–96; on Ibn Almu‘tazz, see Sobh 2002, 537–541):

It fell to (Alḥalīl) to invent and codify the ‘*arūḍ* and establish its metres for poetry. The reason was that, one day, when he was passing by a workshop of fullers in Basra, he heard a different sound between the blows and he reflected on this science, saying “no one has developed a theory about this or is going to beat me to it”, and thus he designed the ‘*arūḍ* with those sounds that were coming out of the hands of people.⁷

Old as this account may be, however, it is a legend, and one with a foundational conceit as pretentious as the one that attributes the agreement that governed coexistence with non-Muslim believers (*ahl adḍimma*) to ‘Umar ibn Alḥaṭāb, the second Orthodox caliph (r. 634–644; see Cohen 1999). Furthermore, I think that the case of Alḥalīl involves an adaptation of a legend that originally referred to the eminent Greek mathematician Pythagoras of Samos (569–475 BCE), to whom the theory of the music of the spheres was attributed; Alḥalīl, of course, also distributed the metres in five circles. Iamblichus (245–325), the disciple of Porphyry (233–305), said this about Pythagoras (Taylor 2020, chapter 26):

⁷ This text is also transmitted by Yāqūt in his *Mu‘ġam al’udabā’* (‘Abbās 1993, I:1269). Of the versions of this legend that I know of, the oldest are by two Iraqis: the one translated here and another by Almarzubānī (909–993), included indirectly by Ḥāfiẓ Alyaġmūrī in his *Kitāb nūr alqabas almuḥtār min almuqtabas* (Sellheim 1964, 58).

Intently considering once, and reasoning with himself, whether it would be possible to devise a certain instrumental assistance to the hearing, which should be firm and unerring, such as the sight obtains through the compass and the rule, or, by Jupiter, through a dioptric instrument; or such as the touch obtains through the balance, or the contrivance of measures; thus considering, as he was walking near a brazier's shop, he heard from a certain divine casualty the hammers beating out a piece of iron on an anvil, and producing sounds that accorded with each other, one combination only excepted. But he recognized in those sounds, the diapason, the diapente, and the diatessaron, harmony. He saw, however, that the sound which was between the diatessaron and the diapente was itself by itself dissonant, yet, nevertheless, gave completion to that which was the greater sound amongst them.

In any event, all the traditions agree in attributing to Alḥalīl the codification of the art of Arabic metrics as a science, dividing it into five circles from which 15 metres are obtained. Alḥalīl himself wrote his conclusions in a work given up as lost today, generically entitled *Kitāb al'arūḍ*. Later, Alahfaš Alawsat, one of his followers, added one other metre, known as *mutadārak*, in his work *Kitāb al'arūḍ lil'Ahfaš* (Baḥrāwī 2007?).

These metres are the specific measures to which a poet conforms his creation, and are called *baḥr* (pl. *buḥūr*), or 'sea'. To each of them, one can apply modifications (*'ilāl*) and produce variants known as *wazn* (pl. *awzān*), or measures. The metres are formed by a succession of feet, some with eight (four feet in each hemistich) and others with six (three feet in each hemistich). The relationships between the different sequences formed in this way govern the arrangement of the five circles established by Alḥalīl,

as explained below. The classical system attributes 15 metres to Alḥalīl, which are considered canonical and must always appear in the manuals—*ṭawīl*, *madīd*, *basīṭ*, *wāfir*, *kāmil*, *hazaḡ*, *raḡaz*, *ramal*, *sarī*^c, *munsariḥ*, *ḥafīf*, *muḏārī*^c, *muqtaḏab*, *muḡtat*, and *mu-taqārib*—although new sequences were immediately derived that were compatible with the spheres attributed to Alḥalīl.

Alḥalīl’s work was introduced to Alandalus by the Ronda native Abbās ibn Firnās (810–887), who is famous today for creating a contraption that allowed him to fly over the city of Cordoba. Ibn Firnās had access to a copy of Alḥalīl’s treatise in the library at the Alcázar of Cordoba during the reign of ‘Abdarraḥmān II (r. 822–852). According to the chroniclers of the Umayyad house, Ibn Firnās himself adapted the metrics to Andalusī ears (Makkī and Corriente 2001, 138):

A certain trader brought the book *Almiṭāl min al‘arūḏ* (*The Model of Metrics*) by Alḥalīl ibn Aḥmad, which ended up in the hands of ‘Abdarraḥmān ibn Alḥakam, although it was not clear to him and he did not understand it, just like his companions. The eunuch Abulfaraḡ, one of his foremost servants, told me that the book was thrown out of the Alcázar, as entertainment for the slave girls, to the point that they said to one another: “Would that God had given you the wisdom of the man who filled his book with *mafā‘il* and *mafā‘il!*”; when Ibn Firnās found out about this, he wrote to the emir, asking him to leave it with him, which he did. Skilfully studying it, he deciphered the key, using it to grasp the essence of the metrics and said, with his excellent vision, “This book indicates that there is an earlier one that explains it”, and the emir ‘Abdarraḥmān sent for its complement to be found in the East. They brought him *Kitāb alfuruš* (*The Book of Tapestries*), with which

‘Abbās completed his study, and he opened it up to the people, being the first to learn metrics in Alandalus, something that had not happened before, and so the emir awarded him 300 dinars and some garments.

Instruction in metrics based on the new codification produced by Ibn Firnās was an immediate, convincing success. It even triumphed in Christian intellectual circles, where it was identified as a clear sign of Mozarabism, as reported by Paul Albar of Cordoba (c. 860–861; Delgado León 1996, 184 for the original and 185 for the translation):

Is it not true that all the young Christians, brilliant in presence, eloquent, distinguished in their gestures and attire, outstanding in the wisdom of the gentiles, notable for their knowledge of the Arabic language, so eagerly care for the books of the Chaldeans, they read them with such attentiveness, discuss them with such ardour, collecting them with such zeal, they disseminate them with a language that is steady and profuse, ignoring by contrast the exquisiteness of the language of the Church and rejecting as vile the sources that flow from Paradise. What grief! The Christians are ignorant of their own law and the Latins do not understand their own language, such that in the entire Christian community one can scarcely find one out of every 1,000 men who can write a letter to his brother in correct Latin, but find innumerable multitudes who are capable of explaining the verbal bombast of the Arabs, to the point that, more erudite in metrics than these people themselves and with more sublime beauty, they adorn the end of their phrases with a shortened letter, according to the demands of expression characteristic of the Arabic language, which closes all its stressed vowels with a rhythmic or even metrical comma, which suits all the letters of the alphabet,

using various expressions, and many variants are reduced to the same or a similar ending.

The first manual of metrics written in Alandalus—and one of the oldest in Arabic literature—was composed in prose and verse by the Cordovan poet Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Abdrabihi (860–940), who included it in his acclaimed encyclopaedia *‘Iqd alfarīd* (The Unique Necklace), under the heading Second Gem: On the Art of Metrics and Rhyme (Amin et al. 1948, V:424–518). This metrical model was first put to the test in the Hebrew language in Cordoba by Dunaš ben Labraṭ (c. 920–c. 960; Brody 1937, 117–26) and there is evidence that it was being used at least as early as 958. This date comes from the information included by Ben Labraṭ in his panegyric to Ḥasday ben Šapruṭ, in which he describes the arrival of a Christian embassy in Cordoba in 958. This poem takes *musammaṭ murabba‘* form, in *mustaṭīl* metre modified with *taš‘ūt* (מפאעילן פאעל), with *reš* rhyme (Sáenz-Badillos 1980, 2):

גְּבִיר גְּבוּר מְלֻךְ הֵבִיאוּ כְּהֶלֶד וּמְחִזִּיק בְּפֶלֶד לְעַם הֵם לֹו צָרִים
 וּמִשָּׁד הַשׁוֹטָה זְקַנְתּוֹ טוֹטָה אֲשֶׁר הִיְתָה עוֹטָה מְלוּכָה בְּגְבָרִים
 בְּכַח חֲכָמוֹתָיו וּמְעוֹז עֲרָמוֹתָיו וְרַב תַּחְבֻּלָתָיו בְּחֶלֶק מְאֻמְרִים

‘A strong lord, a king / brought like a vagrant / leaning
 on a walking stick / to an enemy town
 and he dragged the savage / his grandmother Toda / who
 was covered / regally like the lords
 with the force of his wisdom / and the power of his pru-
 dence / and his great arts / and the sweetness of his
 words.’

Currently, within the field of Arabic literary criticism, it is understood that this type of composition, known as a *musammaṭ* and

used in the earliest examples of Andalusī Hebrew poetry, first appeared in Iraq in the eighth century, as a result of breaking up the monotony of the *qasida* by introducing or using a literary device called *sammaṭāt*. This device consisted of creating established sequences of two (*musammaṭ muṭallat*), three (*musammaṭ murabbaʿ*), or four (*musammaṭ muḥammas*) internal rhymes (in segments called *aḡsān*) within verses that also continued to preserve the original rhyme (in segments called *asmāt*); in other words, the classical monorhythmic sequence of aaaaa... became bb(bb)a cc(cc)a dd(dd)a and so on. It is believed that, starting in the tenth century, *musammaṭ* verses in Alandalus may have produced the strophes [aa] bbba ccca... of the *zajal* and [a] bbba ccca... of the *muwašṣaḥ* (Corriente 1997, 23–27). The main fly in the ointment with this theory is the absence of any examples of Arabic *musammaṭ* in Alandalus from this period, which may be due to any number of reasons: the compositions may have been of inferior quality; they may have been rejected by local, highly puristic anthologies; or they may have been quickly superseded by a new genre (Corriente 1997, 80–81).

In contrast to the scarcity of Arabic specimens, the evidence for the use of Arabic metrics in medieval Hebrew poetry written in the Iberian Peninsula is quite rich. In fact, the first examples of Andalusī Hebrew poetry scanned with Arabic metrics—written by Dunaš ben Labraṭ in Cordoba around 958, as discussed above—adopt the *musammaṭ murabbaʿ* (bbba ccca ddda...) form. These are two compositions enshrined as all-time classics in Hebrew literature. The first, ‘Know, my heart, wisdom’—part of which was quoted above—was written in honour of the famous

Jewish patron and doctor to Caliph ‘Abdarraḥmān III (929–961), Ḥasday ibn Šapruṭ, while the second, even more famous work, ‘He says: don’t sleep, drink old wine’, was a bacchic poem recited at a gathering (*muḡālis*) in the presence of Ḥasday ibn Šapruṭ.¹⁸ The use of this type of internal caesura was not unknown in the synagogal poetry being written in Palestine from the sixth century, if not earlier (Fleischer 1988), and also appears in the composition that introduces the letter of complaint sent from Mēnaḥem ben Saruq to Ibn Šapruṭ (Schirmann 1954, I:8–10).

As will be discussed in greater detail below, in the case of the classical Hebrew poets (10th–12th centuries), it is easy to find examples that do not fit into the strict discipline of the Arabic metrical art. These variations can affect both the measure of the metre (*wazn*) and its modifications (*ziḥāf* and *‘ilāl*), and are largely—at least in religious poetry—the result of the insertion of biblical citations into the body of the poem. They are found in an array of works that are not consonant with either the classical or the strophic framework but, in a show of metrical ambiguity (*muštābih*), make use of strange metrical and strophic games that have led their editors to see no metre at all and understand them to be an isosyllabic metrical variant (‘--- / ---’), representative of poets who rejected Arabic metrics (Fleischer 1980). Nothing could be further from the truth; these compositions were inspired by the *‘arūd*, and may be innovations, experiments, or even, in some cases, simply bad verses.

¹⁸ Today it is known that this composition formed part of a larger panegyric; see Elizur 2010.

Arab poets in Alandalus had, in the early tenth century, or perhaps even earlier, already devised a new type of formula known as the *ḥarġa* (pl. *ḥaraġāt*), a final refrain that closed and governed the structure of a *muwaššah* poem. The *muwaššah* genre (pl. *muwaššahāt*) originated in Alandalus in the tenth century and did not stop evolving until it reached its literary maturity in the eleventh to twelfth centuries. Poems of this genre are generally made up of five strophes or verses written in classical Arabic, the last of which finishes with the *ḥarġa*, which can be found in dialectal Arabic, classical Arabic, Hebrew, or Romance. It did not take the Jewish poets long to start using the *ḥarġa*, along with other strophic devices like *musammaṭ* form, in their own compositions, both in Arabic and in Hebrew (Stern 1974).

Most *muwaššah* poems are made up of a prelude (*maṭla*) and five verses. They are considered ‘complete’ (*tāmm*) when they have a prelude, but ‘bald’ (*aqra*) when they do not. Each verse is divided into two sections: the ‘round’ (*dawr*) and the ‘refrain’ (*qufl*). Each section, in turn, is divided into segments (*ġuz*, pl. *aġzā*): the segments of the rounds (*ġuṣn*, pl. *aġṣān*) have a variable rhyme, while the segments of the refrains (*simṭ*, pl. *asmāt*) preserve their rhyme throughout the composition. When a segment (either *ġuṣn* or *simṭ*) has one stich, it is ‘single’ (*muṣaṭṭar*), and when it has two stichs, it is ‘double’ (*muzdawīġ*). Two stichs with a single final rhyme are ‘plain’ (*muḥrad*), whereas, when they have at least one internal rhyme, they are ‘compound’ (*muḍaffar*). If all the segments of a section have only the same final rhyme, they are called ‘simple’ (*sādiġ*), but if they have internal rhymes as well, they are considered ‘adorned’ (*muraṣṣa*). The verses can

be formed purely according to the poet's chosen metre, in which case they are called 'stripped' (*muğarrad*), but they can also be subject to metrical extensions that consist of suffixes (*muḍayyal*), prefixes (*mar'ūs*), infixes (*mafrūq*), or prefixes and infixes at the same time (*muğannah*; Ghazi 1979, 11).

The number of segments in the verses varies from poem to poem. The most common options are five segments (*muḥammas*) or four (*murabbaʿ*), although there may be as many as six (*musaddas*), seven (*musabbaʿ*), or eight (*muṭamman*). Moreover, the *ğuşn* and *simṭ* do not necessarily have to be symmetrical in the syllabic computation (*mutawāfit*); at times, one *simṭ* can be double while the other is single, in which case it is said that the refrain is 'lame' (*a'rağ*; Corriente 1997, 26–27).

There has been much debate about the origin of these extremely complex compositions. The history of the *ḥarağāt*, and their relationship to the *muwaššahāt*, as well as the *zajals*, is long and controversial (for a complete summary, see Corriente 1997, 90–101). The last major theory, the 'bridging hypothesis', was formulated by Federico Corriente (1982), and later updated by the author himself (1986) in reaction to various objections, put forth primarily by Gregor Schoeler (1983) and Alan Jones (1981–1982). Very briefly (for the complete exposition, see Corriente 1997), this hypothesis holds that the *ḥarağāt* had a popular origin, dating back to the dawn of the tenth century, in the form of *zajals*. These were oral works that used Andalusī Arabic and whose metre was based on a popular local adaptation of the classical *'arūd*, imported from the East during the reign of 'Abdaraḥmān II (822–852) and adapted to Andalusī Arabic by Ibn

Firnās; on this adaptation, see the curious episode in the Alcázar of Cordoba mentioned above. It is even possible that the *ḥarağāt* are remains of zajals—their best verses—that were then inserted at the end of a new Andalusī strophic structure, called ‘*muwaššah*’ when its register was classical and ‘zajal’ when its register was dialectal. It seems that the structure and metrics of the *ḥarağāt*, as they have been passed down (see the latest edition of *Dīwān Ibn Quzmān Alqurṭubī* in Corriente 2013), were updated and standardised during the Almoravid period, as their linguistic register was a much better fit in the Almoravid court than it had been under the previous regimes. The famous Andalusī anthologist and theoretician of the era, Ibn Bassām (Santarem, 1058–1147), described the genre of the *muwaššah* and its evolution as follows (following the edition by ‘Abbās 1978, I:468–69):

These metres (*awzān*) are quite often used by the Andalusis in love poems (*alğazal*) and erotic poetry (*annasīb*), and when heard, they break the best guarded chests, if not the heart. The first to use the metres of these *muwaššahāt* in our land and to devise the form, as far as I understand, was Muḥammad ben Maḥmūd of Cabra, the blind. He made them with hemistichs from the verses (‘*alā aštāri l’aš‘āri*), although most of them with impossible metres that are not used (‘*alā la‘ārīḍi lmuhamalati ġayri lmusta‘malati*), using dialectal and foreign words, which he called the ‘centre’ (*almarkaz*), and from this, he composed the *muwaššah*, without giving it an internal rhyme (*taḍmīn*) or rounds (*walā ağsān*).³⁴ It is said that ‘Abdarrabbihi, the author of

³⁴ Monroe (1985–1986, 134) explains why he translates this as ‘not even in the rounds’, an interpretation that I do not agree with, and the explanation of which does not convince me.

Kitāb al‘iqd, pioneered this type of *muwaššahāt* in our ranks. Later Yūsuf ben Hārūn Arramādī appeared, and he was the first to increase the internal rhyme in the centres, making every caesura that he had fixed exclusively in the centre rhyme. The poets of his generation, like Mukarram ben Sa‘īd and both sons of Abūlḥasan, followed this trend. Then, this ‘Ubāda appeared and devised plaiting (*attadfir*), which consists of maintaining the positions of the caesuras in the rounds and giving them an internal rhyme, just as Arramādī maintained the position of the caesuras in the centre. The metres of these *muwaššahāt* are beyond the aim of this compendium, since most do not follow the metrical forms (*a‘arīd*) of Arabic poetry.

Monroe (1985–1986) studies this passage in depth and includes all the translations into Western languages made since the nineteenth century.

The model that I propose for scanning Andalusī Hebrew poetry has also served to inform my analyses of the process through which Hebrew *muwaššahāt* were composed. The scansion suggests that the composition begins with the *ḥarḡa*, whose sequence encrypts all or some variants and modifications (*awzān*) of one metre (*baḥr*) as its author decides, challenging the poet to identify them and reproduce them throughout a complex strophic composition, usually inlaid with all sorts of internal rhymes. In other words, the poet must recognise the metre encoded in the *ḥarḡa*, and play with it and its variants from the beginning of the poem to the end. This explains why there is no fixed pattern to which the metrical sequences of these poems adhere, since they are all formed independently on the basis of a particular *ḥarḡa*.

On these premises, I will analyse the metres of a number of different Hebrew *muwaššahāt*, to try to shed light on their unpredictable metrical structures, which always depend on the genius of the author of the *ḥarḡa*.

2.0. Metrical Orthography

Metrical orthography takes account solely and exclusively of what is said, whether or not that pronunciation is reflected in how the words are written using conventional orthography. The main characteristics of metrical orthography are as follows.

A letter with *dageš ḥazaq* counts as two letters, the first quiescent and the second vocalised, for example, *zayin* in חזק → חזק or *nun* in קטנה → קטנה.

The seven kings, or *plene* vowels, when found in open syllables, are taken to include a weak quiescent letter, for example an *alef*, as in נער → נאער, in זקב → זאקב, or in כסף → כאסף. The same occurs with ל, which, for metrical purposes, is לָ, and likewise also פיה → פיא.

This is actually the same phenomenon that affects *waw* and *yod* in the matter of *plene* or defective spelling, as in אתו, which, for metrical purposes, will always be אָתוּ; *holem* is placed above the consonant that it vocalises, and not over the *waw*, which is only a lengthening letter. The same occurs with עדה, which is always measured as עידה.

On the other hand, these three weak letters do not count in closed syllables, meaning that דויד and דוד are, for metrical purposes, דאוד; שנים → שאנים; and שמים → שאמאים. An exception to this rule, however, is that there are some situations where the

rhyme requires the presence of a quiescent letter before the consonant that finishes the verse (*ridf*).

In the case of furtive *pataḥ*, an *alef* is inserted before the vowel; for example, רִוּחַ is רִוּאחַ in this case.

Open syllables are only found in the cases of mobile *šēwa'*, compound *šēwa'*, and *šureq*: for example, in רִבֵּשׁ, אֶשֶׁר, אֶמְתָּ, and עֲנִי, as well as in וּבָן. According to some grammarians, when either of these two types of *šēwa'* appears in the middle of a word preceded by another open syllable, both can be counted as open syllables if required by the metre, for example, מְעַשֶׂה or יַעֲמֵד (Alahmad Alkhalaf and Martínez Delgado 2018, 96–106). If, on the other hand, the metre requires that this sequence of open syllables be broken, *gē'aya* is used, for example, יַעֲמֵד → יַאֲעֵמֵד. *Gē'aya* is also used when the metre requires that a quiescent *šēwa'* be mobile, for example, כְּתָבוּ → כְּאֵתְבוּ.

The scansion confirms that this rule is not applied in the case of *ḥatef qameṣ*, and therefore, for example, רִוּאחַ is, for metrical purposes, רִוּאָחַ. Likewise, in practice, I have not always been able to identify the measure known as *fāṣila šuḡrā*—a sequence of three vocalised letters followed by a quiescent, on which see further below—and, therefore, forms like בְּמִחְנֶה usually correspond to the measure מְפִאֲעֵלֵן, and not to פְּעֵלְתֵן, as argued by Ibn Ḡanāḥ (Martínez Delgado forthcoming).

Originally, the Arabic metrical system indicated that a consonant was vocalised using the symbol *o* and that it was quiescent using *|*. However, because of the similarity between *o* and the sign that indicates the quiescent in Arabic (*sukūn* ْ), at present these symbols are used the other way round. For example, רִבֵּשׁ

→ o|| and יעגה → o|||. The sequences produced by this first scansion identify the metrical feet, since, in their own way and context, these symbols are equivalent to \sim (|) and $\bar{\sim}$ (o|) in Greek and Latin poetry.

3.0. Metrical Syllables

Metrical syllables are the minimum units from which metrical feet can be put together. Not all classical manuals agree about their number and quantity. While all authors recognise four basic syllables (two *sabab* and two *watid*), others add two more (*fāšila šuḡrā* and *fāšila kubrā*).

3.1. *Sabab*

Sabab (traditionally known as *těnu‘a* in Hebrew) has two recognised types:

Sabab hafif: made up of two letters, the first vocalised and the second quiescent (o|), as in אָב, אָי, פָּה, שָׁם.

Sabab taqil: made up of two vocalised letters (||). Not all authors agree about the existence of this metrical syllable in Hebrew, as, unlike the previous type, it never appears free standing, but rather always as one of a combination of two units, like the first two syllables of וְאָנִי, כְּאֶשֶׁר and מְעַלָּה (in all cases *sabab taqil* + *sabab hafif* → o|||).

3.2. *Watid*

Watid (traditionally known as *yated* in Hebrew) has two recognised types:

Watid maḡmūʿ: made up of three letters, two vocalised and one quiescent (o||), as in שְׁמֵר, כְּבֵר, and דְּבֵשׁ.

Watid mafrūq: made up of three letters, two vocalised separated by one quiescent (|o|). There is no consensus between grammarians about the significance of this syllable, as it only appears in Hebrew in two circumstances (see Martínez Delgado 2017, 51–53 for edition and 83–84 for translation). The first of these is apocopated imperatives and imperfects of verbs whose third radical is weak, in either the *paʿal*, of the יִבֵּר type, or the *hifʿil*, of the הִשְׁקֵ type. In both cases, the existence of *watid mafrūq* depends on whether or not the author makes the final *šewaʿ* sound, avoiding the double consonance: *yabkǎ* and *hašqǎ*, respectively. The second circumstance is in segolate nouns whose third radical is weak, of the כְּבֵר type, where the stress on the first radical creates a weak letter and, as a result, the final *heʿ* does not count for metrical purposes, producing כְּבֵר.

3.3. *Fāšila*

Fāšila is considered by many authors to be really combinations of the above units. Not all Hebrew grammarians agree about recognising *fāšila* units, and likewise, many manuals of medieval Arabic metrics do not include them. Those authors that do include them, like Ibn Ḡanāḥ (Alahmad Alkhalaf and Martínez Delgado 2018, 96–106), recognise two types:

Fāšila šuḡrā: three vocalised letters followed by a quiescent (o|||); לְעֵשֶׂת and אֶעֱמַד would be examples of this type.

Fāšila kubrā: four vocalised letters followed by a quiescent (o|||); הַשְׁחַתָּה and $\text{יְמַשְׁשׁוּ} \rightarrow \text{יְמַשְׁשׁוּ}$ would be, according to Ibn Ġanāḥ, examples of this type.³⁹

4.0. Metrical Feet

Metrical syllables join together to form the feet that are combined to create verses. Depending on the school, between eight and ten feet are recognised: two are made up of five letters, and the others, regardless of whether there are six or eight of them, are made up of seven letters. To provide an abstract representation of these feet, the פֿעֿל paradigm is used for both morphological analysis and scansion in Arabic.

The feet with five letters are:

פֿעֿוֹלְ, which is made up of *watid maġmū*^c (פֿעֿ/וֹ||) + *sabab ḥafif*

(לְ/וֹ|), e.g., $\text{יְהוּדָה} = \text{הַיְהוּדָה}$

פֿאֿעֿלְ, which is made up of *sabab ḥafif* (אֿפֿ/וֹ|) + *watid maġmū*^c

(לְ/עֿ||), e.g., $\text{אִדָּרְ} = \text{אִדָּרְכָּרְ}$

³⁹As a sampler: “in הַשְׁחַתָּה , four vowels occur, one is *ḥatef pataḥ* under *het* and I already showed you that the initial *šəwa*⁷ is mobile, for which reason the *lamed* in הַשְׁחַתָּה is mobile. In מְהַלְלָאֵל (Gen. 5.12), three vowels occur, one of them being *ḥatef pataḥ*. In לְעֵשׂוֹת (Gen. 2.3), three vowels occur, one of them being *ḥatef pataḥ* and this occurs with great frequency in Hebrew. Examples of this type in words that are not healthy because they have geminates are like $\text{יְסַבְּהוּ יְצַאֲלִים יְצַלְלוּ}$ (Job 40.22), in צַלְלוּ three vowels occur, one of them being *ḥatef pataḥ*. The same for מְלַלֵּי גְלַלֵּי (Neh. 12.36), $\text{יְלַלְתָּ הָרַעִים}$ (Zech. 11.3 [sic]) and קְלַלְתָּ (Judg. 9.57). In $\text{יְמַשְׁשׁוּ בְּצַהֲרֵי־יָמֵם}$ (Job 5.14) four vowels occur, one an initial vowel that vocalises with the *pataḥ* under *yod* and *ḥatef pataḥ* under *shin*” (Alahmad Alkhalaf and Martínez Delgado 2018, 96–106).

The feet with seven letters are:

מפאעילן, which is made up of *watid maḡmū*^c (אמפ/ו||) + *sabab hafif* (עי/ו|) + *sabab hafif* (לן/ו|), e.g., וישביע = וישביע

פאעלאַתן, which is made up of *sabab hafif* (פא/ו|) + *watid maḡmū*^c (אלא/ו||) + *sabab hafif* (תן/ו|), e.g., בתבונה = בתבונה

מסתפעלן, which is made up of *sabab hafif* (מס/ו|) + *sabab hafif* (תפ/ו|) + *watid maḡmū*^c (לעל/ו||), e.g., נורא מאד = נוראמאד

מפאעלתן, which is made up of *watid maḡmū*^c (מפא/ו||) + *sabab taqil* (על/||) + *sabab hafif* (תן/ו|), e.g., עלימעשי = עלימעשי

מתפאעלן, which is made up of *sabab taqil* (מת/||) + *watid maḡmū*^c (עפא/ו||) + *sabab hafif* (לן/ו|), e.g., מחנה ארם = מחנהארם

מפאעלאַת, which is made up of *sabab hafif* (מפ/ו|) + *sabab hafif* (עו/ו|) + *watid mafrūq* (לא/ו|), e.g., הרבהבכה = הרבהבכה.

Some schools add two more feet:

פאעלאַתן, which is made up of *watid mafrūq* (פא/ו|) + *sabab hafif* (לא/ו|) + *sabab hafif* (תן/ו|)

מסתפעלן, which is made up of *sabab hafif* (מס/ו|) + *watid mafrūq* (תפ/ו|) + *sabab hafif* (לן/ו|)

The feet are traditionally divided into the categories of fundamental and derived feet. The four fundamental or basic feet are those that begin with *watid*: פּעולן, מפאעילן, מפאעלאַתן and, according to the maximalists, פאעלאַתן. The six remaining feet that begin with *sabab* are derivations of the first group.

5.0. The Verse

The verse (*bayt*) is made up of a series of feet, and closes with a rhyme that must be repeated throughout the entire composition. Complete verses can have eight or six feet, depending on the type of metre. They are divided into two identical hemistichs; the first is called *ṣadr* and the second *ʿağz*:

$$\begin{array}{ccc} \text{פאעלאַתן פאעלאַתן פאעלאַתן פאעלאַתן פאעלאַתן פאעלאַתן} & | & \text{פאעלאַתן פאעלאַתן פאעלאַתן פאעלאַתן פאעלאַתן פאעלאַתן} \\ \text{ʿağz} & & \text{ṣadr} \\ \\ \text{מפאעילן מפאעילן מפאעילן מפאעילן מפאעילן מפאעילן} & | & \text{מפאעילן מפאעילן מפאעילן מפאעילן מפאעילן מפאעילן} \\ \text{ʿağz} & & \text{ṣadr} \end{array}$$

The last foot of the first hemistich, or *ṣadr*, is known as *ʿarūḏ*, and the last foot of the second hemistich, or *ʿağz*, is called *ḏarb*. Although the first hemistich is called *delet* and the second *soger* in the Hebrew tradition, it is possible that the earliest authors who coined this terminology were really referring to *ʿarūḏ* and *ḏarb* respectively (see Qimḥi 1546, 59v). The feet that precede the *ʿarūḏ* and *ḏarb* are called *ḥašw*, or ‘filling’:

$$\begin{array}{ccc} \text{פאעלאַתן פאעלאַתן פאעלאַתן פאעלאַתן פאעלאַתן פאעלאַתן} & | & \text{פאעלאַתן פאעלאַתן פאעלאַתן פאעלאַתן פאעלאַתן פאעלאַתן} \\ \text{ḏarb} & | & \text{ḥašw ḥašw ḥašw} & | & \text{ʿarūḏ} & | & \text{ḥašw ḥašw ḥašw} \\ \\ \text{מפאעילן מפאעילן מפאעילן מפאעילן מפאעילן מפאעילן} & | & \text{מפאעילן מפאעילן מפאעילן מפאעילן מפאעילן מפאעילן} \\ \text{ḏarb} & | & \text{ḥašw ḥašw} & | & \text{ʿarūḏ} & | & \text{ḥašw ḥašw} \end{array}$$

A composition that consists of an isolated verse is known as *yatīm*. The following example (Brody and Schirmann 1974, 268) uses *wāfir* metre and *nun* rhyme.

$$\begin{array}{ccc} \text{מפאעילן מפאעילן מפאעילן מפאעילן מפאעילן מפאעילן} & & \text{מפאעילן מפאעילן מפאעילן מפאעילן מפאעילן מפאעילן} \\ \text{אַשׁר הָיוּ שְׁחֹרִים לָהּ לְבָגִים} & & \text{הֲלֹא נְפִלְאוֹת עָלֵיכֶם הַשְּׁחֹרָה} \end{array}$$

‘Was the darkness not so wonderful with all of you / that the blacks were as whites.’ (Solomon ibn Gabirol)

A composition with two verses is called *nutfa*. The following example (Sáenz-Badillos and Targarona 1998, 190) uses *ṭawīl* metre and *reš* rhyme.

פֵּעוּלֹן מִפֵּעוּלֹן פֵּעוּלֹן	פֵּעוּלֹן מִפֵּעוּלֹן פֵּעוּלֹן
וְתַחַת יְרִיעָה כֹּל יְמוֹתַי מְדוּרֵי	הַלְעֵד אֲנִי שׁוֹכֵן בְּאֶהֱל כְמוֹ עֶרֶב
פֵּעוּלֹן מִפֵּעוּלֹן פֵּעוּלֹן	פֵּעוּלֹן מִפֵּעוּלֹן פֵּעוּלֹן
חֲצָרֵי בְעִירֵי אֶן יְדִידֵי חֲצָרֵי	כְּבָר שְׂכַחוּנֵי הָעֶרְבָה וְהַזְמַן

‘Will I always live in a tent like a Bedouin? Will I have my abode under canvas my whole life?

The steppe and Fate make me forget / my patio in my city: where are the friends from my patio?’ (Samuel ibn Nagrela Hanagid)

When the composition has between three and six verses, it is known as *qit‘a*. The following example (Mirsky 1961, 1) uses *wāfir* metre and *dalet* rhyme.

מִפֵּעוּלֹן מִפֵּעוּלֹן פֵּעוּלֹן	מִפֵּעוּלֹן מִפֵּעוּלֹן פֵּעוּלֹן
בְּעֵת חֲשֶׁק יַעֲרִנֵי אֶדְלֵג	כְּאֵיל לְחִזּוֹת עֵינַי כְּבוּדָה
מִפֵּעוּלֹן מִפֵּעוּלֹן פֵּעוּלֹן	מִפֵּעוּלֹן מִפֵּעוּלֹן פֵּעוּלֹן
וְאִבָּאָה וְהֵן אִמָּה לְנִגְדָה	וְאִבִּיהָ וְאִחִיהָ וְדוּדָה
מִפֵּעוּלֹן מִפֵּעוּלֹן פֵּעוּלֹן	מִפֵּעוּלֹן מִפֵּעוּלֹן פֵּעוּלֹן
אֲשׁוּרָנָה וְאִפְנָה לְאַחֲוָרֵי	כְּאֵלֹ לֹא אֲנִי רָעָה יְדִידָה
מִפֵּעוּלֹן מִפֵּעוּלֹן פֵּעוּלֹן	מִפֵּעוּלֹן מִפֵּעוּלֹן פֵּעוּלֹן
יֵרֵא מֵהֶם וְעֲלִיהָ לְבָבִי	כְּלֵב אִשָּׁה מְשַׁלֵּת יְחִידָה

‘When love awakens me, I skip about / like a fawn to gaze at the eyes of the beauty.

I enter and her mother is there in front of her / her father, her sister and her aunt.

I gaze at her and I turn / as if I were not her companion,
her friend.

I am afraid of them and because of her my heart / is like
the heart of a woman who has lost her only child.’ (Isaac
ibn Khalfun)

Any composition that has more than seven verses becomes a
qasida.

A verse that preserves all its full feet is called *tāmm*, or com-
plete. The following example (Sáenz-Badillos and Targarona
1998, 167.1) uses *basīṭ* metre and *kaf* rhyme.

מְסַתְפֵּעְלוּ פִּאֲעֵלוּ מְסַתְפֵּעְלוּ פִּאֲעֵלוּ מְסַתְפֵּעְלוּ פִּאֲעֵלוּ
אָשׁוּט כְּהַלְךְ עָלַי גִּבְעַת לְבוּנָה וְאֶדְרֶ בֵּיק אֶת לְחַיֵּי אֵלַי מְדַרְדֵּ הַלֵּיכִיכֵי

‘I wander like a wayfarer around a hill of incense and I
ho/ld my cheeks fast to the print of your steps.’ (Samuel
ibn Nagrela Hanagid)

A verse that preserves all its feet with modifications is
called *wāfi*, or faithful. The following example (Brody and Schir-
mann 1974, 4) uses *ṭawīl* metre and *pe*’ rhyme.

פִּאֲעֵל מִפִּאֲעֵלִין פִּאֲעֵל מִפִּאֲעֵלִין פִּאֲעֵל מִפִּאֲעֵלִין
מִי זֹאת כְּמוֹ שְׁחַר עוֹלָה וְנִשְׁקָפָה תֵּאִיר כְּאוֹר חֲמָה בְּרָה מְאֹד יָפָה

‘Who is she who like the dawn rises and comes out / she
shines like the light of the sun, pure, so very beautiful.’
(Solomon ibn Gabirol)

A verse that eliminates the final foot from both hemistichs
is called *mağzū*’, or partial. The following example (Sáenz-Badi-
llos and Targarona 1998, 156.1) uses *basīṭ* metre and *dalet* rhyme.

מְסַתְפֵּעְלוּ פִּאֲעֵלוּ פִּעוּלוּ מְסַתְפֵּעְלוּ פִּאֲעֵלוּ פִּעוּלוּ
קוּמָה בְּשְׁחַר וְשׁוֹר יְרִיעַת שְׁחַק בְּכֶסֶף וּפִז נְקוּדָה

‘Awaken at dawn and gaze at the cover of the / sky with fine inlaid silver and gold.’ (Samuel ibn Nagrela Hanagid)

A verse that eliminates a complete hemistich is called *mašṭūr*, or split. The following example (Sáenz-Badillos and Targarona 1998, 220.1) uses *sarī*‘ metre and *reš* rhyme.

מְסַתְפֵּעֵלֶן מְפִשְׁלוֹן
תִּדְעַ בְּנֵי כִי צוֹר יִצְרָךְ נוֹרָא

‘You must know, my child, that the Rock, your Creator, is terrible’. (Samuel ibn Nagrela Hanagid)

A verse that eliminates four feet and preserves only two—or four, depending on the metre—is called *manhūk*, or weak. The following example (Jarden 1984, 155) uses *mutadāarak* metre and *he*’ rhyme.

פִּאעֵל פִּאעֵל פִּאעֵל פִּאעֵל
עֵינַי מְרַב בְּכִי כְהוּ

‘My eyes, from so much crying, have become blind.’
(Solomon ibn Gabirol)

A verse that consists of a single foot is known as *mudawwar*, or round.

When the poet makes the *‘arūd* and *ḍarb* rhyme in both hemistichs at the beginning of the poem—in other words, both of these feet share the same rhyme and foot type—and then the metre adopts the expected form beginning with the second verse, this rhythm is known as *tašrī*‘. The following example (Brody 1894, II:75) uses *rağaz* metre and *ṣade* rhyme.

מְסַתְפֵּעֵלֶן מְפִשְׁלוֹן מְסַתְפֵּעֵלֶן מְפִשְׁלוֹן
עַל כֵּן בְּחַיֵּי שְׂוֹא וְרִיק אֶקוּצָה לְקִרְאָת מְקוֹר תַּיִ אָמַת אֶרוּצָה

מִפְתַּעְלוֹ מִסְתַּפְעֵלוֹ מִפְעֻלוֹ	מִסְתַּפְעֵלוֹ מִסְתַּפְעֵלוֹ מִסְתַּפְעֵלוֹ
לֹא אֶעֱרָץ בְּלִתּוֹ וְלֹא אֶעֱרִיצָה	לְרֹאוֹת פָּנָי מִלְכִי מִגִּמְתִּי לְבַד
מִסְתַּפְעֵלוֹ מִסְתַּפְעֵלוֹ מִפְעֻלוֹ	מִסְתַּפְעֵלוֹ מִפְתַּעְלוֹ מִסְתַּפְעֵלוֹ
אִישׁוֹן שְׁנַת עוֹלָם וְלֹא אֶקִּיצָה	מִי יִתְגַּנֵּי לְחַזוֹתוֹ בְּחֵלוֹם
מִסְתַּפְעֵלוֹ מִסְתַּפְעֵלוֹ מִפְעֻלוֹ	מִפְתַּעְלוֹ מִסְתַּפְעֵלוֹ מִסְתַּפְעֵלוֹ
לֹא שְׂאֵלוֹ עֵינַי לְהַבִּיט חוּצָה	לוֹ אֶחְזֶה פָּנָיו בְּלִבִּי בִּיתָה

‘I run to true life’s fountain / for that reason I scorn that
which is vain and empty
I only wish to glimpse the face of my King / He and no-
body else I fear and venerate
If only I could see Him in my dreams! / I would sleep an
eternal sleep without awakening
If ever I saw His face in my heart / my eyes would no
longer want to look outwards.’ (Judah Halevi)

When the poet makes the first two hemistichs rhyme with-
out the *‘arūd* adopting the foot type of the *ḍarb*, this produces a
rhythm very common amongst the Hebrew poets, which is called
muwaffā. The following example (Brody and Schirmann 1974,
140.1) uses *rağaz* metre and *nun* rhyme.

מִפְתַּעְלוֹ מִסְתַּפְעֵלוֹ מִפְתַּעְלוֹ	מִפְתַּעְלוֹ מִסְתַּפְעֵלוֹ מִסְתַּפְעֵלוֹ
אַחַר בְּגַד רַע חֲשַׁבְתִּיו נֶאֱמַן	אַל תֶּאֱמַן לְבִי בְּאַנְשֵׁי הַזֶּמֶן

‘Do not believe, my heart, in contemporaries / after be-
traying the companion I believed trustworthy.’ (Solomon
ibn Gabirol)

When the poet creates internal rhymes within the verse, but
maintains the final rhyme throughout the poem, this is called
musammaṭ, as discussed above. The following example (Schir-
mann 1954, I:34) uses *mustatīl* metre and *lamed* rhyme.

מפאעילן פאעל מפאעילן פאעל מפאעילן פאעל מפאעילן פאעל
 ואומר אל תישן שתה יין ישן וכפר עם שושן ומר עם אהלים

‘He says: do not sleep / drink old wine / there are privets
 with lilies / and myrrh with aloe.’ (Dunaš ben Labrat)

6.0. Modifications

6.1. *Zihāf*

The filling (*ḥašw*) feet undergo modifications (*zihāf*) that specifically affect the *sabab*. According to Ibn ‘Abdrabbihi (Amīn et al. 1948, 426), these modifications only affect the second, fourth, fifth, and seventh letters of the feet.

The modification never affects any component of the *watid*, instead specifically affecting the *sabab*. Moreover, in the feet, it only affects the second, fourth, fifth and seventh letters. If you want to know the position of the modification in the feet, look at each of the eight feet that I have named for you; if you see that the foot begins with *watid*, the modification will be in the fifth and seventh, but if you see that the *watid* is at the end of the foot, the modification will be in the second and fourth; if the *watid* is in the middle of the foot, then the second and seventh will be modified.

These modifications are found in isolated instances within the composition, rather than being replicated throughout. Each metre allows its own modifications.

According to the very minimalist Andalusī school, there are two modifications: one consists of eliminating the second letter from the *sabab ḥafif* (o| → |), and the other of leaving the second

letter of the *sabab taqīl* quiescent ($|| \rightarrow o|$), or sometimes eliminating it ($o| \rightarrow |$). As mentioned in the extract of Ibn ‘Abdrabihi quoted above, the position of the modification depends on the position of the *watid*: when the foot begins with *watid* (that is, פּעוֹלֵן, מַפְאֵלֵן, מַפְאֵלְחֵן, and, according to the maximalists, פּאָע (לֵאחֵן)), the modification affects the fifth and seventh letters of the foot; when the *watid* is in the intermediate position (פּאֵעֲלֵאחֵן and, according to the maximalists, מְסַתְפֵּעַ לֵן), the modification affects the second and seventh letters of the foot; and when the *watid* is in the final position (פּאֵעֲלֵן, מְסַתְפֵּעֵן, מְסַתְפֵּעֵלֵן, and מְפִשְׁלֵאחֵן), the modification affects the second and fourth letters of the foot.

In the following sections, after each example, the metres in which the modification in question can occur are given in brackets. Metres in which a particular modification does not occur according to the classical catalogue, but does sometimes occur in practice, are marked with an asterisk (*).

6.1.1. Second Consonant

The modification introduced in the second consonant of the foot can be of three types:

ḥabn: the second consonant is eliminated when it is quiescent.

פּאֵעֲלֵן → פּעֲלֵן (*madīd, basīṭ*)

מְסַתְפֵּעֵלֵן → מְסַתְפֵּעֵן = מַפְאֵעֵן (*basīṭ, rağaz, sarīṣ, munsariḥ, ḥafif, muğtat*)

מְפִשְׁלֵאחֵן → מְפִשְׁלֵאחֵן = מְפִשְׁלֵאחֵן (*munsariḥ, muqtaḍab*)

פּאֵעֲלֵאחֵן → פּעֲלֵאחֵן (*madīd, ramal, ḥafif, muğtat*)

iḍmār: the second vocalised consonant remains quiescent.

מתפאעלן → מתפאעלן = מסתפעלן (*kāmīl*)

waqṣ: the second vocalised consonant is eliminated.

מתפאעלן → מפאעלן = מפאעלן (*kāmīl*)

6.1.2. Fourth Consonant

Only one modification is introduced in the fourth consonant of the foot:

ṭayy: the fourth consonant is eliminated when it is quiescent.

מסתפעלן → מסתעלן = מפתעלן (*basīt, rağaz, sarī^ʿ, munsariḥ*)

מפעולאט → מפעלאת (*munsariḥ, muqtaḏab*)

6.1.3. Fifth Consonant

The modification introduced in the fifth consonant can be of three types:

qabḏ: the fifth consonant is eliminated when it is quiescent.

פעולן → פעול (*tawīl, mutaqārib*)

מפאעילן → מפאעלן (*hazağ, muḏāri^ʿ*)

ʿaṣb: the vocalised fifth consonant remains quiescent.

מפאעלתן → מפאעלתן = מפאעילן (*wāfir*)

ʿaql: the fifth consonant is eliminated when it is vocalised.

מפאעלתן → מפאעתן = מפאעלן (*wāfir*)

6.1.4. Seventh Consonant

Only one modification is introduced in the seventh consonant:

kaff: the seventh consonant is eliminated when it is quiescent.

מפאעיל → מפאעיל (ṭawīl, hazaġ, muḏāriʿ)

פאעלאַתן → פאעלאַתן (madīd, ramal, ḥafīf, muġtat)

מסתפּעלן → מסתפּעלן (ḥafīf, muġtat)

6.1.5. Dual Modifications

In addition to the aforementioned modifications, the following dual modifications can be introduced:

ḥabl: the second consonant is eliminated when it is quiescent (*ḥabn*) and the fourth consonant is eliminated when it is quiescent (*ṭayy*).

מסתפּעלן → מתפּעלן = פעלן (basīṭ, raġaz, sarīʿ, munsariḥ)

מפּעולאַת → מעולאַת = פעלאַת (munsariḥ)

ḥazl: the second vocalised consonant remains quiescent (*iḏmār*) and the fourth consonant is eliminated when it is quiescent (*ṭayy*).

מתפּאעילן → מתפּאעילן = פּאעילן (kāmil)

naqṣ: the fifth consonant remains quiescent (*ʿaṣb*) and the seventh consonant is eliminated when it is quiescent (*kaff*).

מפּאעילן → מפּאעילן = מפּאעיל (wāfir)

ṣakl: the second consonant is eliminated when it is quiescent (*ḥabn*) and the seventh consonant is eliminated when it is quiescent (*kaff*).

פּאעלאַתן → פעלאַתן = פעלאַת (madīd, ramal, ḥafīf)

מסתפּעלן → מתפּעלן → מתפּעל = מפּאעל (*hafif*)

ṭarm: the first letter of the first foot is eliminated from each hemistich (*ḥarm*) and the fifth consonant is eliminated when it is quiescent (*qabḏ*).

פּעולן → עולן → עול = פּעל (*ṭawīl, mutaqārib*)

6.2. ‘*ilāl*

The feet that occupy the position corresponding to the ‘*arūḏ* and *ḏarb* undergo specific modifications (‘*ilāl*) that must be preserved throughout the entire poem. These modifications produce the variants (*awzān*) of each metre (*baḥr*):

ḥadf: at the end of the foot, the *sabab hafif* is eliminated.

מפּאעילן → מפּאעי = פּעולן (*ṭawīl, hazagḥ*)

פּאעלאַתן → פּאעלאַ = פּאעלן (*madīd, ramal, hafif*)

פּעולן → פּעו = פּעל (*mutaqārib*)

qatf: at the end of the foot, the *sabab hafif* and the preceding vowel are eliminated.

מפּאעלאַתן → מפּאעל = פּעולן (*wāfir*)

qaṣr: in a foot ending in *sabab*, the final quiescent consonant is eliminated, and the vocalised consonant that precedes it is left quiescent.

פּעולן → פּעול = פּעול (*mutaqārib*)

פּאעלאַתן → פּאעלאַת = פּאעלאַן (*madīd, ramal, *hafif*)

qatḥ: in a foot ending in *watid*, the final quiescent consonant is eliminated, and the vocalised consonant that precedes it is left quiescent.

פּאָעל → פּאַעל → פּאַעל = פּאַעל (*basīt, *ḥafīf, mutadārak*)
 מְסַתְּפֵעֵל → מְסַתְּפֵעֵל → מְסַתְּפֵעֵל = מְפֵעֵלָן (*rağaz, munsariḥ*)
 מְתַפְּאֵעֵל → מְתַפְּאֵעֵל → מְתַפְּאֵעֵל = פֵּעֵלָתָן (*kāmil*)

batr: at the end of the foot, the *sabab ḥafīf* is eliminated (*ḥadf*) and then the final quiescent consonant is eliminated, and the final vocalised consonant is left quiescent (*qaṭʿ*).

פּאַעלָתָן → פּאַעלָא → פּאַעל → פּאַעל (*madīd, *ramal*)
 פֵּעֵלָן → פֵּעֵו → פֵּעֵ → פֵּע (*mutaqārib*)

ḥadd: the *watid mağmūʿ* is eliminated from the end of the foot.

מְתַפְּאֵעֵל → מְתַפּא = פֵּעֵלָן (*kāmil, *basīt*)

ṣalm: the *watid mafrūq* is eliminated from the end of the foot.

מְפֵעֵלָתָן → מְפֵעֵו = פּאַעל (*sarīʿ*)

waqf: the seventh vocalised consonant is left quiescent.

מְפֵעֵלָתָן → מְפֵעֵלָתָא = מְפֵעֵלָן (*sarīʿ, munsariḥ*)

kašf: the seventh vocalised consonant is eliminated.

מְפֵעֵלָתָן → מְפֵעֵלָא = מְפֵעֵלָן (*sarīʿ, munsariḥ, *rağaz*)

6.3. Additions and Reductions

Regardless of the position that it occupies within the poem, a foot can receive any of the following additions and reductions:

tadyīl: a quiescent consonant is added to the end of a foot that ends with *watid*.

פּאַעל → פּאַעלָאן (*mutadārak*)
 מְסַתְּפֵעֵל → מְסַתְּפֵעֵלָאן = מְסַתְּפֵעֵלָאן (*basīt*)
 מְתַפְּאֵעֵל → מְתַפְּאֵעֵלָאן = מְתַפְּאֵעֵלָאן (*kāmil*)

tasbiḡ: a quiescent consonant is added to the end of a foot that ends with *sabab*.

פאעלאַתון → פאעלאַתון = פאעלאַתאן (*ramal*)

tarfil: two consonants, the first vocalised and the second quiescent, are added to the end of a foot that ends with *watid*.

מסתפּעלן → פע + מסתפּעלן = מסתפּעלאַתון (*kāmil*)

מתפּאעלן → פע + מתפּאעלן = מתפּאעלאַתון (*kāmil*)

ḥarm: the first letter of the first foot is eliminated from each hemistich.

פּעולן → עולן = פּאעל (*tawīl*)

מפּאעילן → מפּעולן (*hazaḡ*)

This last modification is known as *ṭalm* when it is applied to the foot פּעולן in *mutaqārib* metre (→ פּאעל), and *ṣatr/šitr* when it is applied to an instance of the foot מפּאעילן that has been previously affected by *qabḏ* in *hazaḡ* or *mudāriʿ* metre (→ מפּאעלן → פּאעלן).

ḥarb: a dual modification produced by the combination of *ḥarm* with *kaff*.

מפּאעילן → פּאעילן → פּאעיל → מפּעולן (*hazaḡ, mudāriʿ*)

tašʿūt: the first letter of the *watid* is eliminated.

פאעלאַתון → פּאעלאַתון = מפּעולן (*ḥafif, muḡtat*)

פּעולן → עולן = פּאעל (*mustaṭīl*)

Finally, one letter—and in some cases even two—can be added to the beginning of the verse. This modification is known as *ḥazm*

and occurs in the *muğtaṭ*, *muqtaḍab*, *muḍāri*^c, and *mutadārak* metres.

2. THE CATALOGUE OF CLASSICAL METRES

1.0. *Ṭawīl*

פְּעוּלָן מִפְּאֵעִילָן פְּעוּלָן מִפְּאֵעִילָן פְּעוּלָן מִפְּאֵעִילָן פְּעוּלָן מִפְּאֵעִילָן

This metre has the longest sequence of feet. According to the classical system, it is not used in its *maǧzūʿ*, *mašṭūr*, or *manhūk* forms. Its *tāmm*, or complete, form is as follows (Brody and Schirmann 1974, 23.3):

פְּעוּלָן מִפְּאֵעִילָן פְּעוּלָן מִפְּאֵעִילָן	פְּעוּלָן מִפְּאֵעִילָן פְּעוּלָן מִפְּאֵעִילָן
תְּעוּפָה שְׁנַת עֵינַי וְתִדְרַר תְּנוּמָתִי	וּבְנִפְלַע עַלֵי עֵינַי תְּנוּמָה וְתִרְדִּימָה
תְּעוּפָה שְׁנַת עֵינַי וְתִדְרַר תְּנוּמָתִי	וּבְנִפְלַע עַלֵי עֵינַי תְּנוּמָה וְתִרְדִּימָה

‘As torpor and lethargy fall over my eye / sleep flies from my eyes and my drowsiness is dispersed.’ (Solomon ibn Gabirol)

This metre has three types of *ḍarb* and one type of ‘*arūd*’.

1.1 First *Ḍarb*

The first *ḍarb* is without modification (מִפְּאֵעִילָן), and its ‘*arūd*’ is modified with *qabḍ* (מִפְּאֵעִילָן → מִפְּאֵעִילָן):

פְּעוּלָן מִפְּאֵעִילָן פְּעוּלָן מִפְּאֵעִילָן פְּעוּלָן מִפְּאֵעִילָן פְּעוּלָן מִפְּאֵעִילָן

I have not found this form amongst the classical poets. However, contrary to the classical prescription, *ṭawīl* metre can be found in the *maǧzūʿ* form, dispensing with one foot, and with a complete *ḍarb* and identical ‘*arūd*’ (Sáenz-Badillos and Targarona 1998, 45.1–2):

פֵּעוּלֹן מִפֵּאעִילֹן מִפֵּאעִילֹן פֵּעוּלֹן מִפֵּאעִילֹן מִפֵּאעִילֹן
 עֲלֵיכֶם בְּנֵי תוֹרָה וְתוֹפְשֵׁיהָ עֲלֵיכֶם לְגִלוֹת אֶת כְּמוּסֶיהָ
 פֵּעוּלֹן מִפֵּאעִילֹן מִפֵּאעִילֹן פֵּעוּלֹן מִפֵּאעִילֹן מִפֵּאעִילֹן
 לְמַעַן בְּנֵי אָדָם בְּמַחְשָׁכִים בְּאֶרֶץ וְאִתָּם כְּהַרְסֶיהָ

‘All you sons and custodians of the Torah / you must re-
 veal its secrets
 Since the people are in the dark / in the land and you are
 as their lamp.’ (Samuel ibn Nagrela Hanagid)

1.2. Second *Ḍarb*

The second *ḏarb* is modified with *qabd* (מִפֵּאעִילֹן → מִפֵּאעֵלֹן), and its ‘*arūd* is identical (Sáenz-Badillos and Targarona 1998, 191.2):

פֵּעוּלֹן מִפֵּאעִילֹן פֵּעוּלֹן מִפֵּאעֵלֹן פֵּעוּלֹן מִפֵּאעִילֹן פֵּעוּלֹן מִפֵּאעֵלֹן
 בְּכָל לֵב אֶהְיֶים לָךְ וְלִבְךָ כְּמוֹ צֶרֶר וְכָל פֶּה יְדַבֵּר בְּךָ וְאִתָּ תִתְנֶנִּי דָמִי

‘With all his heart he loves you while your heart is like
 stone / and every mouth speaks to you while you remain
 silent.’ (Samuel ibn Nagrela Hanagid)

There is also a different form of this *ḏarb* used in the complete form of *ṭawīl* metre, which is not included in the classical catalogue; it is further modified with *waqṣ* (מִפֵּאעֵלֹן → פֵּאעֵלֹן) and has an identical ‘*arūd* (Brody and Albrecht 1906, 89.1; Sáenz-Badillos and Targarona 1998, 197.1–2):

פֵּעוּלֹן מִפֵּאעִילֹן פֵּעוּלֹן פֵּאעֵלֹן פֵּעוּלֹן מִפֵּאעִילֹן פֵּעוּלֹן פֵּאעֵלֹן
 יִשְׁנָה בְּחִיק יְלִדוֹת לְמֹתֵי תִשְׁכְּבִי דְּעִי כִּי נְעוּרִים כְּנִעַרְתְּ נְנַעְרוּ

‘Asleep in the lap of infancy, when you lie down / you
 must know that youth like a wick is consumed.’ (Judah
 Halevi)

יְדִידִי בְּפְרוּדָם לְבָבִי לְבָבוּ וְנִפְשִׁי בְּהִרְחִיקָם וְעֵינַי דָּאָבוּ

וְלֹא יִדְמוּ תְּמִיד וְנִזְלִיהֶם עָלִי לְחַיִּי וְעַל פְּנֵי כְּמוֹ גֵּד נִצְבּוּ

‘My friends upon leaving stole my heart / my soul for
their distance and my eyes languish
Never again shall they be calm, spilling over / my cheeks
and face as if forming a dyke.’ (Samuel ibn Nagrela Han-
agid)

1.3. Third *Darb*

The third *darb* is modified with *hadf* (מפאעילן → פעולן), and its ‘*arūd* with *qabd* (מפאעילן → מפאעלן; Sáenz-Badillos and Targarona 1998, 188.1):

פִּעוּלֵן מִפִּאעִילֵן פִּעוּלֵן מִפִּאעִילֵן פִּעוּלֵן פִּעוּלֵן
לְנוֹדֵךְ בְּקִרְבֵי אֹר וְגוֹפִי בְּתוֹךְ יְאוֹר בְּשִׁטְפוֹ וּמִי יוּכַל לְנֹשֵׂא אֹר וְזָרָם

‘Your absence inflames my heart and my body sinks into
a river / that spills over, who can withstand fire and cur-
rent.’ (Samuel ibn Nagrela Hanagid)

This *darb* modified with *hadf* (פעולן) can also appear with an iden-
tically modified ‘*arūd* (Sáenz-Badillos and Targarona 1998,
170.1; 171.1):

פִּעוּלֵן מִפִּאעִילֵן פִּעוּלֵן פִּעוּלֵן פִּעוּלֵן מִפִּאעִילֵן פִּעוּלֵן
הִתְכִּיז לְךָ חֲצִים שְׁנוּנִים בְּבָבוֹת עָלִי קִשְׁתוֹת עֲפֹטָךְ וְתוֹרֵה לְבָבוֹת

‘Are you tensing the sharpened arrows of your pupils / in
the bows of your eyelids to shoot at hearts?’ (Samuel ibn
Nagrela Hanagid)

פִּעוּלֵן מִפִּאעִילֵן פִּעוּלֵן פִּעוּלֵן פִּעוּלֵן מִפִּאעִילֵן פִּעוּלֵן
אֲנִי אֲרָאֶךְ עֶפֶר וַיִּדִּיב לְבָבְךָ בְּעֵינָיו כְּעֵינֶיךָ לְבָבִי מְדִיבוֹת

‘I shall show you a fawn that will melt your heart / with
its eyes, just as your eyes melted my heart.’ (Samuel ibn
Nagrela Hanagid)

This sequence also appears in the *mağzū'* form of *ṭawīl* metre (Jarden 1982, 849.1):

פְּעוּלֹן מִפְּאֵעִילֹן פְּעוּלֹן פְּעוּלֹן מִפְּאֵעִילֹן פְּעוּלֹן
מִצְדָּק לְלֹא נוֹדָע מְהוּלָּל וְכוֹסֶה עָלָי בְּרִי בְּשִׁמָּא

‘One just man, unknown, is worthy of praise / and conceals the certain in the doubtful.’ (Samuel ibn Nagrela Hanagid)

Ṭawīl metre also appears in the *mašṭūr* form, its *ḍarb* modified with *ḥarm* (פְּעוּלֹן → פְּאֵעֵל); because the *mašṭūr* form eliminates an entire hemistich, the *ḍarb* in this form is, at the same time, the ‘*arūd*’ (Sáenz-Badillos and Targarona 1988, 13.1–2):

פְּעוּלֹן מִפְּאֵעִילֹן פְּעוּלֹן פְּאֵעֵל
אֶהְלֵל אֲשֶׁר אֵין לוֹ דְמוּת וּתְמוּנָה
פְּעוּלֹן מִפְּאֵעִילֹן פְּעוּלֹן פְּאֵעֵל
לְמַעַן פְּעִלְתּוֹ אֲשֶׁר נֶאֱמְנָה

‘I will praise Him who has neither image nor figure
Because His works are faithful.’ (Samuel ibn Nagrela Hanagid)

1.4. Modifications to the Filling Feet

The most common modifications to the filling feet in *ṭawīl* metre are *qabḏ*, *kaff*, and *ḥarm*. In many verses, the final quiescent consonant of a filling foot is eliminated. As mentioned above, when this is the fifth consonant, the modification is called *qabḏ* (פְּעוּלֹן → פְּעוּל), and when it is the seventh, it is called *kaff* (מִפְּאֵעִילֹן → מִפְּאֵעִל). This is a very common change (Brody 1935, 234.19; Jarden 1992, 229.1):

פֵּעוּל מִפֵּעוּל מִפֵּעוּל מִפֵּעוּל פֵּעוּל מִפֵּעוּל מִפֵּעוּל מִפֵּעוּל
 וְכִרְחֹק פָּאֵת מִזְרַח לְיַד מַעְרָב רְחִיקוֹ מְאֹד מִחֲשָׁבוֹת אִישׁ מֵעֲזוֹ חֲשִׁבְנוֹתָיו

‘Just as the eastern corner distances itself from the western edge / the thoughts of a man distance themselves from the power of those thoughts.’ (Moses ibn Ezra)

פֵּעוּל מִפֵּעוּל מִפֵּעוּל מִפֵּעוּל פֵּעוּל מִפֵּעוּל מִפֵּעוּל מִפֵּעוּל
 כִּזְאֵת יַעֲשֶׂה הָאֵל לְאִישׁ גְּבַהּ בְּנֵי- עֲרוֹתוֹ בְּטוֹב שְׁעָרוֹ וּבִיפּוֹת תְּאָרוֹ

‘This God does to the man who boasts of his vig/our by reason of the lushness of his hair and the beauty of his figure.’ (Samuel ibn Nagrela Hanagid)

A *qabḏ* and a *kaff* can be applied in the same verse (Sáenz-Badillos and Targarona 1998, 159.1):

פֵּעוּל מִפֵּעוּל מִפֵּעוּל מִפֵּעוּל פֵּעוּל מִפֵּעוּל מִפֵּעוּל מִפֵּעוּל
 הֲלֹא תַעֲנֵנִי בְּהִמּוֹתַי בְּלִי דָמִי בְּשִׁלְמִי הֲרַעוֹתָ לְעַבְדְּךָ בְּשִׁלְמִי

‘You do not answer me although I cry out without ceasing? For whom do you mistreat your servant? For whom?’ (Samuel ibn Nagrela Hanagid)

The *ḥarm* modification, where the first letter of the first foot of each hemistich is eliminated (פֵּעוּלִין → עוּלִין = פֵּאֵעַל), also occurs in *tawīl* metre (Sáenz-Badillos and Targarona 1998, 60.1-2):

פֵּאֵעַל מִפֵּאֵעַל מִפֵּאֵעַל מִפֵּאֵעַל פֵּאֵעַל מִפֵּאֵעַל מִפֵּאֵעַל מִפֵּאֵעַל
 לְשֵׁר רַבִּי נְסִים כְּתָב רִיב וְתוֹכַחַת מֵאֵת יְדִידוֹ עִם יְדִידוֹ מְשַׁלַּחַת
 הִנֵּה אֲדַבֵּר לוֹ שְׁתֵּימָס וְלֹא אוֹסִיף אוּלַי יִשְׁיַבֵּנִי עֲלֵיהֶם בְּמוֹ אַחַת

‘To the noble rabbi Nissim, a letter with grievances and rebukes / a friend with his friend sends
 This is the second and last time I address him / perhaps he will respond to the two together.’ (Samuel ibn Nagrela Hanagid)

The same modification can appear in *mağzū*' verse (Sáenz-Badillos and Targarona 1998, 194.1):

פּאעל מפּאעילן פּעולן	פּאעל מפּאעילן פּעולן
תּשׁיב אֵלַי צְלַעַי לְבָבו	שׁימָה יְמִינָךְ עַל צְלַעַי

'Put your right hand on my ribs / return its heart to my chest.' (Samuel ibn Nagrela Hanagid)

This modification can appear in the first hemistich of the poem only, as in this *musammaṭ* (Mirsky 1961, 72.2):

פּאעל מפּאעילן פּעולן מפּאעילן	פּאעל מפּאעילן פּעולן מפּאעילן
וְחֵטְאִי סִבְבֵנִי וְדוּיִי וּמְכַאֲבֵי	פְּחִי עֲזָבֵנִי וְכַמַּת חֵשְׁבֵנִי

'My strength left me and I took myself for dead / my sin haunted me, my sorrow and my regret.' (Isaac ben Khalfun)

However, it can also remain fixed throughout the entire composition (Brody and Schirmann 1974, 189.1):

פּאעל מפּאעילן פּעולן מפּאעילן	פּאעל מפּאעילן פּעולן מפּאעילן
וּבְעֵט בְּרִקְיוֹ הַמְּאִירִים וְכַף עֵבִיו	פֶּתַב סֵתוֹ בְּדִיוֹ מְטָרִיו וּבְרִבְיָיו
לֹא נִתְכַנְּנוּ כְּהֵם לְחֵשֶׁב בְּמַחְשָׁבֵיו	מְכַתֵּב עָלָיו גֵּן מִתְכַּלֵּת וְאַרְגָּמָן
רְקֵמָה עָלָיו בְּדֵי עֲרוּגוֹת כְּכּוֹכְבָיו	לְכֹן בְּעֵת חֲמֻדָּה אֲדָמָה פְּנֵי שַׁחַק

'Autumn has written with the ink of its rains and down-pours / and with the quill of its luminous rays and the palm of its clouds
a composition over the garden of lapis lazuli and purple /
it would not have arranged them thus if it had been de-
signed
for when the Earth yearns for the face of the sky / it em-
broiders on the fabric of the flowerbeds like its stars.'
(Solomon ibn Gabirol)

This modification can even appear in the variant of the first *darb* that follows *mağzū*' form, which, as discussed above, does appear in Hebrew poetry, despite not being included in the classical catalogue (Brody and Schirmann 1974, 127.1):

פּאעל מִפּאעילן מִפּאעילן פּאעל מִפּאעילן מִפּאעילן
כָּל הַזְּמַנִּים מִיָּמֵי קֶדֶם נָתְנוּ יְדֵיהֶם אֶל זְמַנְךָ

'All the epochs, since ancient times, / reach out their hands to your epoch.' (Solomon ibn Gabirol)

The double modification of *tarm*, i.e., *ħarm* + *qabd* (פּעולן → עולן → עול = פעל), can be applied (Brody and Schirmann 1974, 159.19; Sáenz-Badillos and Targarona 1998, 165.1):

פּעל מִפּאעילן פּאעל מִפּאעילן פּעל מִפּאעילן פּאעל מִפּאעילן
כָּל בְּעַלֵּי הַשִּׁיר חָרְדוּ לְעַמְתּוֹ אִף יַעֲטוּ בַשֵּׁת כָּלֶם וְגַם חָרְפָה

'All poets tremble before it / they are all even covered with embarrassment and bashfulness.' (Solomon ibn Gabirol)

פּעל מִפּאעילן פּעולן פּעולן פּעל מִפּאעילן פּעל מִפּאעילן פּעולן פּעולן
שָׁח בְּעֵבֹר אֵין לְעִנְגָה וְרָכָה דָּת עַד אֲשֶׁר תִּהְיֶה מְלָכִים מְדַכָּה

'I say: considering that the lavish and delicate one does not have / rules, she even scoffs at kings.' (Samuel ibn Nagrela Hanagid)

2.0. *Madīd*

פּאעלאתן פּאעלאתן פּאעלאתן פּאעלאתן פּאעלאתן פּאעלאתן פּאעלאתן פּאעלאתן

The rhythm of this metre can sound cumbersome to Arab ears, and the poets generally avoided it. This metre is not usually used in its classical form in Hebrew either. Nevertheless, theoreticians

could always force the metre and scan model verses in their complete form (Martínez Delgado 2017, 87):

פֶּאֶעֱלֶאֱתֹן פֶּאֶעֱלֹן פֶּאֶעֱלֶאֱתֹן פֶּאֶעֱלֹן פֶּאֶעֱלֶאֱתֹן פֶּאֶעֱלֹן
 מֵה לְךָ אֵל בּוֹעֲרִים לְךָ לְךָ אֵל יוֹעֲצִים בְּתַבּוּנָה וְאֶלֶף מְעַשִּׂיהֶם וְחֹכְמָם
 מִלְּלִכְאָאֵל בּוֹעֲרִים לְכִלְכְּאָאֵל יוֹעֲצִים בְּתַתְּבוּנָה וְאֶאֱלֶף מֵאֲעִשִּׂיהֶם וְאֶחֱכֹמָם

‘What are you doing with fools; go with those give you
 intelligent / advice, learn their acts and become wise.’

(Anonymous)

When *madīd* metre does appear in Arabic, the last foot of each hemistich is usually lost (*mağzū*):

פֶּאֶעֱלֶאֱתֹן פֶּאֶעֱלֹן פֶּאֶעֱלֶאֱתֹן פֶּאֶעֱלֹן פֶּאֶעֱלֶאֱתֹן פֶּאֶעֱלֹן

This metre has five classes of *ḍarb* and three classes of *‘arūd*.

2.1. First *Ḍarb*

The first *ḍarb* is without modification, and its *‘arūd* is identical (Neubauer 1965, 16):

פֶּאֶעֱלֶאֱתֹן פֶּאֶעֱלֹן פֶּאֶעֱלֶאֱתֹן פֶּאֶעֱלֹן פֶּאֶעֱלֶאֱתֹן פֶּאֶעֱלֹן
 אֵיד יִכְבֵּה מִי דְמַעֵי שְׁבִיבִי אֵיד וְעִינֵי הַצִּבִי נִלְחֲמוּ בִי

‘How to quench the waters of my tears around me / how,
 if the eyes of the roe are fighting me.’ (Saadia ibn Danan)

The *‘arūd* of the first *ḍarb* (פֶּאֶעֱלֶאֱתֹן) may be modified with *šakl* (→ פֶּעֱלֶאֱתֹן); this also affects the first foot of the verse:

פֶּעֱלֶאֱתֹן פֶּאֶעֱלֹן פֶּעֱלֶאֱתֹן פֶּאֶעֱלֹן פֶּעֱלֶאֱתֹן פֶּאֶעֱלֹן פֶּעֱלֶאֱתֹן

2.2. Second *Ḍarb*

The second *ḏarb* is modified with *qasr* (פּאעלאַתּוֹן → פּאעלאַן), and its ‘*arūḏ* with *ḥadf* (פּאעלאַתּוֹן → פּאעלאַן). The rhyming consonant is quiescent and preceded by a lengthening letter (*ridf*).

פּאעלאַתּוֹן פּאעלאַן פּאעלאַתּוֹן פּאעלאַן

2.3. Third *Ḍarb*

The third *ḏarb* is modified with *ḥadf* (פּאעלאַתּוֹן → פּאעלאַן), and its ‘*arūḏ* is identical (Martínez Delgado 2017, 88):

פּאעלאַתּוֹן פּאעלאַן פּאעלאַתּוֹן פּאעלאַן
מַצְבִּיִּים אוֹהֶבָה הַצְבִּי הַמְצַדֵּד אֶז יְדִידִי יְהִי

‘Of the two roes I am going to love the roe / that turns,
then he will be my friend.’ (Anonymous)

2.4. Fourth *Ḍarb*

The fourth *ḏarb* is modified with *batr* (פּאעלאַתּוֹן → פּאעל), and its ‘*arūḏ* with *ḥadf* (פּאעלאַתּוֹן → פּאעלאַן):

פּאעלאַתּוֹן פּאעלאַן פּאעל פּאעל

The ‘*arūḏ* of this *ḏarb* (פּאעל) may be modified by *ḥabn* in combination with *ḥadf* (פּאעלאַתּוֹן → פּעלאַתּוֹן → פּעלאַן):

פּאעלאַתּוֹן פּאעלאַן פּאעל פּאעל

Contrary to the classical system, this metre sometimes appears with an ‘*arūḏ* affected by *batr* (פּאעלאַתּוֹן → פּאעל) and an identical *ḏarb* (Sáenz-Badillos and Targarona 1998, 158b.1):

פּאעלאַתּוֹן פּאעלאַן פּאעל פּאעל
יֵשׁ בְּכּוֹס פְּלֵא וְסוּד נְמֻצָא בָּהּ כְּמוֹ הָאוֹת וְהַמוֹפֵת

‘The glass contains wonders, it conceals mysteries / in it as if they were signs and signals.’ (Samuel ibn Nagrela Hanagid)

2.5. Fifth *Darb*

The fifth *darb* is modified with *habn* and *hadf* (פּאָעלאַתּוֹן → פּעלאַתּוֹן → פּעלָן), and its ‘*arūd* is identical:

פּאָעלאַתּוֹן פּאָעלָן פּעלָן פּאָעלאַתּוֹן פּאָעלָן פּעלָן

In *manhūk* verse, the ‘*arūd* of the fifth *darb* (פּעלָן) may be modified with *hadf* only (פּאָעלאַתּוֹן → פּאָעלָן):

פּאָעלאַתּוֹן פּאָעלָן פּאָעלאַתּוֹן פּעלָן

2.6. Modifications to the Filling Feet

The following modifications may affect the filling feet in *madīd* metre (Yahalom 2001, 78; Martínez Delgado 2017, 88):

habn: פּאָעלאַתּוֹן → פּעלאַתּוֹן

פּעלאַתּוֹן פּאָעלָן פּאָעלאַתּוֹן פּאָעלָן פּאָעלאַתּוֹן פּאָעלָן פּאָעלאַתּוֹן פּאָעלָן
יְחַדֵּי לֵב בּוֹ קְרִיבִים לְיְרָאָה שֵׁם אֱלֹהֶיךָ וְעַמְדֵי לְפָנָיו

‘Join forces with your heart, with it approach the fear / the name of your God and stay before Him.’ (Elazar ben Jacob)

habn: פּאָעלָן → פּעלָן

פּאָעלאַתּוֹן פּעלָן פּאָעלָן פּאָעלאַתּוֹן פּעלָן פּאָעלָן
סוּר וְאַל תֵּט אַחֲרֵי רוֹדְפֵי רַע בְּרֹדְפֵם וְאַמַּת עוֹזְבִים

‘Step away and do not go after those who pursue / evil, in pursuing it they abandon truth.’ (Anonymous)

kaff: פּאָעלאַתּוֹן → פּאָעלאַתּוֹת

šakl: פּאָעלאַתּוֹן → פּעלאַתּוֹת (rare)

3.0. *Basit*

מסתפעלן פאעלן מסתפעלן פאעלן מסתפעלן פאעלן פאעלן

According to some manuals, the complete form of this metre is never used in Arabic, and the metre usually only appears in *man-hūk* verse:

מסתפעלן פאעלן מסתפעלן פאעלן

In Hebrew, however, its complete form can appear (Sáenz-Badillos and Targarona 1998, 167.1):

מסתפעלן פאעלן מסתפעלן פאעלן מסתפעלן פאעלן פאעלן
 אָשׁוּט פֿהֶלֶךְ עָלַי גִּבְעַת לְבוֹנָה וְאֶדְ- בֵּיק אֶת לְחַיִּי אֶלִי מִדְּרֹךְ הַלִּיכִיכִי
 אָאִשְׁטִבְהִי לְכַעֲלִי גִבְעַת־לְבוֹ נְהוּאֶדְ- בְּקִאֲתִלְחָא יִיאֵלִי מִדְּרֹכְהִלִי כְּאִיכִי

‘I wander like a wayfarer around a hill of incense and I ho/ld my cheeks fast to the print of your steps.’ (Samuel ibn Nagrela Hanagid)

This metre has six types of *ḍarb* and three types of ‘*arūd*.

3.1. First *Ḍarb*

The first *ḍarb* is modified with *ḥabn* (פּאעלן → פּעלן), and its ‘*arūd* is identical:

מסתפעלן פאעלן מסתפעלן פעלן מסתפעלן פאעלן מסתפעלן פעלן

3.2. Second *Ḍarb*

The second *ḍarb* is modified with *qaṭʿ* (פּאעל → פּאעֿל), and its ‘*arūd* with *ḥabn* (פּאעלן → פּעלן). The rhyme must be preceded by a lengthening letter (*ridf*):

מסתפעלן פאעלן מסתפעלן פעלן מסתפעלן פאעלן מסתפעלן פעלן

Hebrew poets often use this second *darb* modified with *qat* (פּאעלן → פּאעל), but keep its *‘arūd* complete. Again, the rhyme must be preceded by a lengthening letter (Jarden 1984, 224:2; Brody 1935, 134.2):

מִסְתַּפְּעֵלְוּ פּאעלֹן מִסְתַּפְּעֵלְוּ פּאעלֹן מִסְתַּפְּעֵלְוּ פּאעלֹן מִסְתַּפְּעֵלְוּ פּאעלֹן

מְרִיב חִדְלָן נָא וְאִם מִשְׁפֵּט אָמַת תִּדְרֹשָׁה הִבֵּט וַיִּפְיֶה רְאֵה טָרַם תִּרְיַבְנִי

‘Just stop arguing and if you truly seek justice / look at
and contemplate her beauty before you argue with me.’

(Solomon ibn Gabirol)

מִסְתַּפְּעֵלְוּ פּאעלֹן מִסְתַּפְּעֵלְוּ פּאעלֹן מִסְתַּפְּעֵלְוּ פּאעלֹן מִסְתַּפְּעֵלְוּ פּאעלֹן

יִשְׂיֵא לְבָבוֹת בְּדָבָר רַק וְנִפְתָּ וְלֹא נִבְיִן הִכִּי חִישׁ בְּכַף קָלַע יִשְׁיִמְנוּ

‘(Time) entertains with vacuous affairs and we are de-
lighted without / understanding how quickly it puts us in
our place with one mighty blow.’ (Moses ibn Ezra)

The same pattern may appear in *taṣrī* rhythm (Sáenz-Badillos and Targarona 1998, 198.1–2):

מִסְתַּפְּעֵלְוּ פּאעלֹן מִסְתַּפְּעֵלְוּ פּאעלֹן מִסְתַּפְּעֵלְוּ פּאעלֹן מִסְתַּפְּעֵלְוּ פּאעלֹן

יֹזְנָה עָלַי בֶּן הַדָּם מַה לָּךְ תִּקְוִינִי הָאֵת יְחִידָה בְּלֹא דוֹדָךְ כְּמוֹ אֲנִי

מִסְתַּפְּעֵלְוּ פּאעלֹן מִסְתַּפְּעֵלְוּ פּאעלֹן מִסְתַּפְּעֵלְוּ פּאעלֹן מִסְתַּפְּעֵלְוּ פּאעלֹן

יִקַּד בְּלִבִּי יְקוֹד אֵשׁ הַמְּלֵהֵט וְקֵט לוֹלֵי דְמַעוֹת עֲרוּנֵי שָׂרְפָנִי

‘Dove on the myrtle shoot, what do you lament / perhaps
you are alone without your beloved like me

Burning in my heart is a blazing fire and I would give up
/ if it were not for the tears that help me I would burn.’

(Samuel ibn Nagrela Hanagid)

Similarly, the Hebrew poets use this second *ḏarb* modified with *qatʿ* (פּאָעל → פּאָעלִין) with an identical *ʿarūd*. Again, the rhyme must be preceded by a lengthening letter (Brody 1935, 200:1):

מִסְתַּפְּעֵלִין פּאָעלִין מִסְתַּפְּעֵלִין פּאָעֵל מִסְתַּפְּעֵלִין פּאָעֵל
מָה עָרְבוּ לִי יְמֵי חֲבֵרָה וּמְתָקוּ לִוְלֵי אֲשֶׁר עָבְרוּ כְּצֵל וְרַחֲקוּ

‘How the days go by with companions and they are sweet
/ save because they pass like a shadow and drift away.’
(Moses ibn Ezra)

3.3. Third *Ḍarb*

The third *ḏarb*, found in *mağzūʿ* verse, is modified with *tadyil* (מִסְתַּפְּעֵלִין → מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֵאן), and its *ʿarūd* is complete:

מִסְתַּפְּעֵלִין פּאָעֵלִין מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֵאן מִסְתַּפְּעֵלִין פּאָעֵלִין מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֵאן

The third *ḏarb* can also accept the following modifications:

tayy: מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֵאן → מִפְתַּעֲלֵאן

ḥabl: מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֵאן → פִּעֲלֵתֵאן

3.4. Fourth *Ḍarb*

The fourth *ḏarb*, found in *mağzūʿ* verse, is complete, and its *ʿarūd* is identical:

מִסְתַּפְּעֵלִין פּאָעֵלִין מִסְתַּפְּעֵלִין מִסְתַּפְּעֵלִין פּאָעֵלִין מִסְתַּפְּעֵלִין

3.5. Fifth *Ḍarb*

The fifth *ḏarb*, found in *mağzūʿ* verse, is modified with *qatʿ* (מִסְתַּפְּעֵלִין → מִפְּעֵלִין), and its *ʿarūd* is complete (Yahalom 2001, 84):

מִסְתַּפְּעֵלִין פּאָעֵלִין מִפְּעֵלִין מִסְתַּפְּעֵלִין פּאָעֵלִין מִסְתַּפְּעֵלִין
עָרִיד שְׂאוֹל אִף זְבוּל נִגְדָד אֵיכָה אֲכַס מִמֶּדָּח חֲטָאֵי וְהוּ

‘How can I hide my sin from You if / Sheol and even
Zebul are set before You.’ (Elazar ben Jacob)

This *ḍarb* modified with *qatʿ* (מְסַתְּפֵלוֹן → מִפְּעוּלוֹן) can also be used with an identical ‘*arūd* (Yahalom 2001, 84, 86):

מְסַתְּפֵלוֹן פִּאעֵלוֹן מִפְּעוּלוֹן מְסַתְּפֵלוֹן פִּאעֵלוֹן מִפְּעוּלוֹן
כִּפְר עֲוֹנֵי וְשָׂא חַטָּאתַי וּמַחַה פְּשָׁעַי בְּמֵי דַמְעָתַי

‘Pardon my guilt, forget my sin / and wipe clean my
faults with the water of my tears.’ (Elazar ben Jacob)

3.6. Sixth *Ḍarb*

The sixth *ḍarb*, found in *mağzūʿ* verse, is modified with *ḥabn* and *qatʿ* (מְסַתְּפֵלוֹן → מִתְּפֵלוֹן → פִּעוּלוֹן), and its ‘*arūd* is identical; this form is known as *muḥallaʿ* (Sáenz-Badillos and Targarona 1998, 156.1):

מְסַתְּפֵלוֹן פִּאעֵלוֹן פִּעוּלוֹן מְסַתְּפֵלוֹן פִּאעֵלוֹן פִּעוּלוֹן
קוּמָה בְּשַׁחַר וְשׁוּר יְרִיעַת שַׁחַק בְּכֶסֶף וּפִז נְקוּדָה

‘Awaken at dawn and gaze at the cover of the / sky with
fine inlaid silver and gold.’ (Samuel ibn Nagrela Hanagid)

Another form of the sixth *ḍarb* found in *mağzūʿ* verse is modified with *ḥadd* and *ḥabn* (מְסַתְּפֵלוֹן → מְסַתְּפֵ → פִּעֵל), and its ‘*arūd* with *ḥabn* and *qatʿ* (מְסַתְּפֵלוֹן → מִתְּפֵעֵלוֹן → פִּעוּלוֹן):

מְסַתְּפֵעֵלוֹן פִּאעֵלוֹן פִּעֵל מְסַתְּפֵעֵלוֹן פִּאעֵלוֹן פִּעֵל

Alternatively, the ‘*arūd* of this *ḍarb* may be modified with *ḥadd* and *ḥabn*, like the *ḍarb* itself:

מְסַתְּפֵעֵלוֹן פִּאעֵלוֹן פִּעֵל מְסַתְּפֵעֵלוֹן פִּאעֵלוֹן פִּעֵל

3.8. Modifications to the Filling Feet

The following modifications may affect the filling feet in *basīṭ* metre (Jarden 1984, 224.4; Sáenz-Badillos and Targarona 1998, 12.2):

ḥabn: פִּאֲעֵלָן → פִּעֵלָן

מִסְתַּפְּעֵלָן פִּעֵלָן מִסְתַּפְּעֵלָן פִּאֲעֵלָן מִסְתַּפְּעֵלָן פִּאֲעֵלָן
 מִי יִתְּנָה תְּחִנָּן אוֹתִי בְּחִבְרָה וְטִי רַם מוֹת בְּיַד הַנְּדוּד תְּשׁוּב תְּחִינִי

‘Who should agree to have mercy upon me with her company and be/fore dying at the hands of separation return to resuscitate me.’ (Solomon ibn Gabirol)

tayy: מִסְתַּפְּעֵלָן → מִפְּתַעֲלָן

מִסְתַּפְּעֵלָן פִּעֵלָן מִפְּתַעֲלָן פִּאֲעֵלָן מִסְתַּפְּעֵלָן פִּאֲעֵלָן
 זָמַם אָגַג לַעֲשׂוֹת שֵׁם לַעֲמֶלֶק וְיָדַעַל כְּמוֹ שֵׁם חִבְרוֹ אֶת שְׁמוֹ מִחֻקָּה

‘Agag planned to bequeath fame upon Amalek and a monument / over the throne, like the fame of his friend, its fame was wiped clean.’ (Samuel ibn Nagrela Hanagid)

ḥabn: מִסְתַּפְּעֵלָן → מִפִּאֲעֵלָן

ḥabl: מִסְתַּפְּעֵלָן → פִּעֵלָתוֹ (rare)

4.0. *Wāfir*

מִפִּאֲעֵלָתוֹ מִפִּאֲעֵלָתוֹ מִפִּאֲעֵלָתוֹ מִפִּאֲעֵלָתוֹ מִפִּאֲעֵלָתוֹ מִפִּאֲעֵלָתוֹ

In both Arabic and Hebrew, all the filling feet of this metre are usually modified with *ʿasb* (מִפִּאֲעֵלָתוֹ → מִפִּאֲעֵלָתוֹ), and other modifications are also applied to this form.

This metre has three forms of *ḍarb* and two of *ʿarūd*.

4.1. First *Darb*

The first *darb* is modified with *qatf* (מפאעלתן → פעולן), and its ‘*arūd* is identical. The filling feet are modified with ‘*aṣb* (מפאעלתן → מפאעילן; Brody 1935, 35.1):

מפאעילן מפאעילן פעולן מפאעילן מפאעילן פעולן
 שתה אחי והשקני עדי כי ביד הכוס יגזן לבי אמגן
 שתיא אחי והשקני עדיכי ביד הכפס יגלגבי אמגן

‘Drink, my friend, and give me drink until / the sorrow in
 my heart drowns with the glass.’ (Moses ibn Ezra)

Nevertheless, some of the feet may appear in their complete form (Pagis 1967, 4.1):

מפאעילן מפאעלתן פעולן מפאעילן מפאעילן פעולן
 להללך בכל שחרי ונשפי לשוני ידרשה תמיד וגם פי

‘Praise be, whenever I get up or go to sleep, / my tongue
 will always search and my mouth as well.’ (Levi ibn
 Altabban)

The first *darb* also occurs in *mağzū*’ verse:

מפאעלתן פעולן מפאעלתן פעולן

This first *darb* may be affected by the *qaṣr* modification (פעולן → פעול):

מפאעלתן מפאעלתן פעולן מפאעילן מפאעילן פעולן

4.2. Second *Darb*

The second *darb*, found in *mağzū*’ verse, is complete, and its ‘*arūd* is identical:

מפאעלתן מפאעלתן מפאעלתן מפאעלתן

4.3. Third *Ḍarb*

The third *Ḍarb*, found in *mağzū*' verse, is modified with 'ašb (מפאעל'תן → מפאעיל'ן), and its 'arūd is complete:

מפאעל'תן מפאעל'תן מפאעל'תן מפאעיל'ן

Although this is rare, the third *Ḍarb* can also appear in the complete form of the metre:

מפאעל'תן מפאעל'תן מפאעל'תן מפאעל'תן מפאעל'תן מפאעל'תן מפאעל'תן מפאעל'תן

4.4. Modifications to All the Feet

The following modifications may affect the feet in *wāfir* metre (Brody and Schirmann 1974, 35.2; Brody 1894, III:67.1).

'ašb: מפאעל'תן → מפאעיל'ן (very common)

'aql: מפאעל'תן → מפאעל'ן (in both *Ḍarb* and 'arūd)

naqs: מפאעל'תן → מפאעיל' (rare)

מפאעיל' מפאעיל'ן פעול'ן	מפאעיל'ן מפאעיל'ן פעול'ן
כָּרַגַע לַעֲמַד עָלַי בְּחַסְדָּם	וְהַשְׁבִּיעוּם בְּאַהֲבַת דָּל וְחֵלָה

'Make them swear for the love of the poor and the weak /
who for a moment submitted themselves unto me for
mercy.' (Solomon ibn Gabirol)

The following very rare modifications may also occur:

'adb: מפאעל'תן → פאעל'תן

qašm: מפאעל'תן → מפאעל'ן

'aqš: מפאעל'תן → מפאעל'ן

ğamm: מפאעל'תן → פאעל'ן

Both *qašm* and 'aqš are found in the following example:

מפאעל'ן מפאעל'ן מפאעל'ן מפאעל'ן מפאעל'ן מפאעל'ן מפאעל'ן מפאעל'ן
יוֹנָה אֵיךְ תִּדְמֵי כִּי אֵיבְתִיךָ וְהִלֵּא אֶהְבֵּת עוֹלָם אֶהְבֵּתִיךָ

‘Dove, how can you think that I am your enemy / if I love you with a love that is eternal.’ (Judah Halevi)

If the original ‘*arūd* מַפְּאֵלְתָן is modified with ‘*aql* so as to become מַפְּאֵלְיָן, the original form must appear at least once in the poem, to avoid confusion with the *hazağ* metre.

5.0. *Kāmīl*

מַתְּפַאֲעֵלְוּ מַתְּפַאֲעֵלְוּ מַתְּפַאֲעֵלְוּ מַתְּפַאֲעֵלְוּ מַתְּפַאֲעֵלְוּ

More often than not in Hebrew, all the feet of this metre are modified with *idmār* (מַתְּפַאֲעֵלְוּ → מִסְתַּפְּעֵלְוּ), to produce a form called *kāmīl muḏmar*. In this case, the original form (מַתְּפַאֲעֵלְוּ) must appear in the poem at least once, so that the metre is not confused with *rağaz*.

This metre has nine types of *ḏarb* and three types of ‘*arūd*.

5.1. First *Ḍarb*

The first *ḏarb* is complete, and its ‘*arūd* is identical:

מַתְּפַאֲעֵלְוּ מַתְּפַאֲעֵלְוּ מַתְּפַאֲעֵלְוּ מַתְּפַאֲעֵלְוּ מַתְּפַאֲעֵלְוּ

The following example (Sáenz-Badillos and Targarona 1998, 161.1) uses *kāmīl muḏmar* form, displaying the original form of the foot, מַתְּפַאֲעֵלְוּ, at the beginning of the verse:

מַתְּפַאֲעֵלְוּ	מִסְתַּפְּעֵלְוּ	מִסְתַּפְּעֵלְוּ	מִסְתַּפְּעֵלְוּ
רַעִית צְבִי מְבוּר שְׁבִי הַתְּפִתְחִי	רִיחַ בְּגָדֶיךָ לְבִשְׁרוֹ שְׁלִחִי	רִיחַ בְּגָדֶיךָ לְבִשְׁרוֹ שְׁלִחִי	רִיחַ בְּגָדֶיךָ לְבִשְׁרוֹ שְׁלִחִי
רַעִית צְבִי מְבוּר שְׁבִי הַתְּפִתְחִי	רִיחַ בְּגָדֶיךָ לְבִשְׁרוֹ שְׁלִחִי	רִיחַ בְּגָדֶיךָ לְבִשְׁרוֹ שְׁלִחִי	רִיחַ בְּגָדֶיךָ לְבִשְׁרוֹ שְׁלִחִי

‘Gentle companion of the roe, will you free the captive from the dungeon? / send him the perfume from your clothes as a gift.’ (Samuel ibn Nagrela Hanagid)

5.2. Second *Ḍarb*

The second *Ḍarb* is modified with *qaṭʿ* (פעלאַתן → מתפאעלן), and its *ʿarūd* is complete. The rhyme must be preceded by a lengthening letter (*ridf*):

מתפאעלן מתפאעלן מתפאעלן מתפאעלן פעלאַתן

The second *Ḍarb* can accept the *iḏmār* modification (פעלאַתן → מפּעוּלן; Brody 1935, 112.9):

מתפאעלן מסתפּעלן מסתפּעלן
 שאלו היזרח אור בהשפּנו ואם
 מסתפּעלן מפתעלן מפתעלן מפּעוּלן
 יבקעו עוד שחרי לילינו

‘Ask ye: will some light shine in our darkness when / the
 dawns of our nights continue to sink?’ (Moses ibn Ezra)

The following example of the second *Ḍarb* (Brody 1935, 20.1–2) uses *taṣrīʿ* rhythm:

מסתפּעלן מסתפּעלן מפּעוּלן
 שבתִי ותלתִי זמן לא שבו
 מסתפּעלן מסתפּעלן מפּעוּלן
 אחרי בלותה היתה עֲדָנָה לאם
 מסתפּעלן מפתעלן מפתעלן מפּעוּלן
 וימי נדודים לעלומים שבו
 מסתפּעלן מסתפּעלן מפּעוּלן
 פרוד וילדי תאִוָּה יעגבו

‘I have gone grey but not so the ripples of time / and the
 days of absence have become centuries
 After consuming her, pleasure for the mother / developed
 into separation, and the children of lechery broke loose.’
 (Moses ibn Ezra)

5.3. Third *Ḍarb*

The third *Ḍarb* is modified with *ḥadd* and *iḏmār* (מתפאעלן → מתפא → פאעל), and its *ʿarūd* is complete:

מתפאעלן מתפאעלן מתפאעלן פאעל

5.4. Fourth *Ḍarb*

The fourth *Ḍarb* is modified with *ḥadd* (מתפאעלן → פעלן), and its ‘*arūd* is identical:

מתפאעלן מתפאעלן פעלן מתפאעלן מתפאעלן פעלן

5.5. Fifth *Ḍarb*

The fifth *Ḍarb* is modified with *ḥadd* and *idmār* (מתפאעלן → מתפא → פאעל), and its ‘*arūd* with *ḥadd* (מתפאעלן → פעלן):

מתפאעלן מתפאעלן פאעל מתפאעלן מתפאעלן פעלן

In Hebrew, this *Ḍarb* modified with *ḥadd* and *idmār* (מתפאעלן → מתפא → פאעל) can appear with an identical ‘*arūd*, possibly taking advantage of the permitted defects in the rhyme, for which see below (Brody 1935, 2; Brody 1894, I:2.1):

מתפאעלן מסתפעלן פאעל	מסתפעלן מסתפעלן פאעל
יעקב וכל ילד יכבד אב	שב הזמן על קו וכל אה לא
פרוד וזה לזה מאד יתאב	לא ידאגו לעד לבד משד

‘Time returned to its course and no one / will deceive and
all children will honour their father
No more will they worry except for the scourge of / sepa-
ration and this is what each one desires for the other.’
(Moses ibn Ezra)

מסתפעלן מסתפעלן פאעל מסתפעלן מסתפעלן פאעל
איה כבוד האל ומוראו כי אם ביד אהרן מקראו

‘Where is the Glory of God and His fear / if not in the
hand of Aaron who I called.’ (Judah Halevi)

When the sequence מסתפעלן מסתפעלן פאעל does not contain the original form of the foot anywhere in the entire *qasida*, it may instead be the fourth *Ḍarb* of the *sarī*‘ metre with an identical

‘*arūd*’; this is, however, not documented in the classical system, without more changes to its filling feet than *ḥazl* (see, e.g., Sáenz-Badillos and Targarona 1998, 44).

5.6. Sixth *Ḍarb*

The sixth *ḍarb*, found in *mağzū’* verse, is modified with *tarfil* (מתפאעלן → מתפאעלאתן), and its ‘*arūd*’ is complete:

מתפאעלן מתפאעלן מתפאעלאתן

This pattern may also occur in *mašṭūr* verse:

מתפאעלן מתפאעלן מתפאעלאתן

The sixth *ḍarb* in *mağzū’* verse may be modified by *iḏmār* (מתפאעלאתן → מתפאעלאתן):

מתפאעלן מתפאעלן מתפאעלאתן

The sixth *ḍarb* in *mağzū’* verse can also accept *ḥazl* and *tarfil* (מתפאעלן → מתפעלן → מתפעלאתן):

מתפאעלן מתפאעלן מתפעלאתן

The sixth *ḍarb* may appear modified in accordance with *kāmīl muḏmar* form (מתפאעלאתן → מסתפעלאתן; Sáenz-Badillos and Targarona 1998, 222.1):

מסתפעלן	מסתפעלאתן
אָדְרֵשׁ יְדִידִים נוֹלְדוּ	עָמִי בְדוֹר אֶחָד וְאִינָם

‘I look for the friends who were born / with me, in the same generation, and they are no longer here.’ (Samuel ibn Nagrela Hanagid)

The following example of the sixth *ḍarb* in *kāmīl muḏmar* form (Brody and Schirmann 1974, 118.1–2) uses *tašrī’* rhythm:

מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֹן מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֹן	מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֹן מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֹן
כִּי עוֹד אֶמְלֵא שְׁאֵלְתְּךָ	הִסֵּר לְבָבִי תִּאֲוֹתְךָ
מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֹן מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֹן	מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֹן מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֹן
שָׁכַל וְאַל תִּפְּרַר בְּרִיתְךָ	וְכָרַת בְּרִית עִם אוֹהְבֵי

‘Give up, my heart, your longing / for I must always comply with your request
And elaborate a covenant with the lovers of / intelligence and do not break your alliance.’ (Solomon ibn Gabirol)

The same example displays the original form of the foot in the fifth verse:

מִתְּפַאֲעֵלֹן מִתְּפַאֲעֵלֹן	מִתְּפַאֲעֵלֹן מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֹן
תִּאֲהַב כְּבוֹד אֶדְרֵךְ כְּסוּתְךָ	וְאֲהַב כְּבוֹד חֲכָמָה וְאַל

‘Love the glory of wisdom but do not / love the glory of the luxury of your garb.’ (Solomon ibn Gabirol)

The sixth *ḍarb* may even appear in a *tāmm*, or complete, verse, with an identical *‘arūd*, as in the following example (Sáenz-Badillos and Targarona 1998, 53.4), which uses *kāmīl muḍmar* form; the original form of the foot appears in the second hemistich of the fourth verse:

מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֹן מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֹן	מִתְּפַאֲעֵלֹן מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֹן
אֲחוּס בְּנֹד דְּוִדִּי וְאוֹכִיחוּ בְּשׁוּבוֹ	אֶהְבֶּה מְסִתְּרֵת וְתוֹכַחַת חֲשׁוּפָה

‘I suffer, due to the absence of my beloved, I shall scold him if he returns / with hidden love and visible reproach.’ (Samuel ibn Nagrela Hanagid)

In *mašṭūr* verse, the *iḍmār* and *taḍyīl* modifications (מִתְּפַאֲעֵלֹן → מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֹן) are permitted:

מִתְּפַאֲעֵלֹן מִתְּפַאֲעֵלֹן מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֹן

5.7. Seventh *Ḍarb*

The seventh *Ḍarb*, found in *mağzū'* verse, is modified with *tadyīl* (מתפאעלן → מתפאעלאן), and its 'arūd is complete. The rhyme must be preceded by a lengthening letter (*ridf*):

מתפאעלן מתפאעלן מתפאעלן מתפאעלאן

The seventh *Ḍarb* in *mağzū'* verse can accept the *tadyīl* modification in combination with *idmār* (מתפאעלאן → מסתפאעלאן):

מתפאעלן מתפאעלן מסתפאעלאן

The *waqṣ* modification (מתפאעלאן → מפאעלאן) is likewise permitted in combination with *tadyīl* in *mağzū'* verse:

מתפאעלן מתפאעלן מפאעלאן

The *ḥazl* modification (מתפאעלאן → מפתעלאן) is also permitted in these circumstances:

מתפאעלן מתפאעלן מפתעלאן

5.8. Eighth *Ḍarb*

The eighth *Ḍarb*, found in *mağzū'* verse, is complete, and its 'arūd is identical:

מתפאעלן מתפאעלן מתפאעלן

The eighth *Ḍarb* and its 'arūd can accept the *idmār* modification (מתפאעלן → מסתפאעלן) in *mağzū'* verse (Sáenz-Badillos and Targaron 1998, 142.4):

מסתפאעלן	מתפאעלן
נגש וְכָל אִישׁ נַעֲנָה	וְאָמַר פֶּתַח פִּיךָ לְכָל

‘Say “open your mouth” to all / that is troubled and all men who are dejected.’ (Samuel ibn Nagrela Hanagid)

In this example, the poet complies with the rule that, if the other feet undergo the same modification, the original form of the foot must appear somewhere in the poem, so that the metre is not confused with *rağaz*.

The eighth *ḍarb* in *mağzū*⁷ verse may be modified with *waqs* (מתפאעלן → מפאעלן):

מתפאעלן מפאעלן מתפאעלן מפאעלן

The *hazl* modification (מפתעלן → מתפאעלן) is also permitted:

מתפאעלן מפתעלן מתפאעלן מפתעלן

5.9. Ninth *Ḍarb*

The ninth *ḍarb*, found in *mağzū*⁷ verse, is modified with *qaṭ*⁶ (מתפאעלן → פעלאתן), and its *‘arūd* is complete.

מתפאעלן מתפאעלן מתפאעלן פעלאתן

The use of this pattern is unusual.

5.10. Modifications to the Filling Feet

The following modifications may affect the filling feet in *kāmīl* metre (Brody and Schirmann 1974, 118.3):

idmār: מסתפּעלן → מתפאעלן

waqs: מסתפּעלן → מפאעלן

hazl: מפתעלן → מסתפּעלן

מפתעלן מסתפּעלן מסתפּעלן מפתעלאתן

אם תערים אל תט מאד כי אם לדעת תאונתך

‘If they confuse you do not go too far astray / except to understand your desire.’ (Solomon ibn Gabirol)

6.0. *Hazaġ*

מפאעילן מפאעילן מפאעילן מפאעילן מפאעילן

This metre is most commonly used in *maġzū'* form. It has two types of *darb* and one type of *'arūd*.

6.1. First *Darb*

The first *darb* is complete, and its *'arūd* is identical (Brody and Schirmann 1974, 5.1; Sáenz-Badillos and Targarona 1998, 76.1):

מפאעילן מפאעילן	מפאעילן מפאעילן
ועמדת עלי פנו	שמואל מת בנו לברט
ועאמדתא עליפנונו	שמואלמת בנולברט

‘Samuel, Ben Labraṭ has died / you stayed on his nest.’

(Solomon ibn Gabirol)

מפאעילן מפאעילן	מפאעילן מפאעילן
בד נקרא ונתכנה	שמע השר אשר כל שר
בכאנקרא ונתכנה	שמעהששר אשרכלשר

‘Listen, oh prince, from whom all princes / get their name and title.’ (Samuel ibn Nagrela Hanagid)

6.2. Second *Darb*

The second *darb* is modified with *ħadf* (מפאעילן → פּעולן), and its *'arūd* is complete:

מפאעילן מפאעילן מפאעילן פעולן

The *'arūd* (מפאעילן) can accept the *kaff* modification (מפאעילן → מפאעיל), but the *darb* cannot:

מפאעילן מפאעיל מפאעילן פעולן

6.3. Modifications to the Filling Feet

The following modifications may affect the filling feet in *hazaġ* metre (Brody 1935, 108):

kaff: מפאעילן → מפאעיל

מפאעילן מפאעילן מפאעילן מפאעילן מפאעילן
 יְדִידוֹתָם כְּבָרֶק אוּ בְתֵבֶל נַחֲזֶה כְּחֵלוֹם
 מפאעילן מפאעילן מפאעילן מפאעילן מפאעילן
 וְהֵם נִשְׁכִּים בְּשִׁנְיָהֶם וְאִכּוּ יִקְרְאוּ שְׁלוֹם

‘Their friendships we shall see like a ray or / in the world
 like a dream
 Those who when they have something to eat / assuredly
 proclaim peace.’ (Moses ibn Ezra)

qabd: מפאעילן → מפאעלן

harm: מפאעילן → מפעולן

harb: מפאעילן → פאעיל → מפעול

šitr: מפאעילן → מפאעלן → פאעלן

7.0. Raġaz

מסתפעלן מסתפעלן מסתפעלן מסתפעלן מסתפעלן

This metre has five types of *darb* and four types of ‘*arūd*’.

7.1. First *Darb*

The first *darb* is complete, and its ‘*arūd*’ is identical (Brody 1935, 120.1–2):

מסתפעלן מסתפעלן מסתפעלן	מסתפעלן מסתפעלן מסתפעלן
עָשׂוּ לְנַפְשִׁי אֶת אֲשֶׁר לֹא יִזְמוּ	יּוֹם מְרַכְּבוֹת פְּרוּד לְמִסַּע רְתָמוֹ
עָשׂוּ לְנַפְשִׁי אֶת אֲשֶׁר לֹא יִזְמוּ	יִמְרַכְּבֵת פִּירְדְּלִמֵס סַעְרָתָמוֹ

לְבִי בְשִׁבְיָהּ נִשְׂאוּ לֹא אָדָעָה אִם יִסְרוּ אוֹתוֹ בְּאֵף אִם רְחִמוֹ
 לְבִיבִישָׁב יִנְאֵשְׂאוּ לֹא אִידָעָה אִמְיִסְרוּ אוֹתוֹ בְּאֵף אִמְרִיחִמוֹ

‘The day that the caravans of separation were yoked /
 sparked in my soul what they had not planned
 They left my heart in captivity, I do not know / if they
 will punish it in anger or take pity on it.’ (Moses ibn
 Ezra)

7.2. Second *Ḍarb*

The second *ḏarb* is modified with *qat*^c (מִסְתַּפְעֵלִין → מִפְעֻלִין), and its ‘*arūd*’ is complete. The rhyme must be preceded by a lengthening letter (*ridf*; Brody and Schirmann 1974, 16.1):

מִסְתַּפְעֵלִין מִסְתַּפְעֵלִין מִסְתַּפְעֵלִין מִפְעֻלִין מִסְתַּפְעֵלִין מִסְתַּפְעֵלִין מִסְתַּפְעֵלִין מִפְעֻלִין
 אָכֵן מִיָּדַעִי זְנַחְתָּנִי מְאֹד עַד כִּי קִרְאתִיךָ אָבִי זְנוּחַ

‘Surely, my acquaintance, you have deserted me so often
 / that I have dubbed you Sir Desertion.’ (Solomon ibn Ga-
 birol)

The following example of the second *ḏarb* (Brody 1894, I:1.1–3) uses *tašrī*^c rhythm in the first two verses:

מִסְתַּפְעֵלִין מִסְתַּפְעֵלִין מִסְתַּפְעֵלִין מִפְעֻלִין מִסְתַּפְעֵלִין מִסְתַּפְעֵלִין מִסְתַּפְעֵלִין מִפְעֻלִין
 עַד כִּי בְּדָ יוֹסֵף לְבָבוֹת גָּאוּ לֹא מִתְמוֹל פִּיזִית שְׁחוֹק גַּמְלָאוּ
 מִסְתַּפְעֵלִין מִסְתַּפְעֵלִין מִסְתַּפְעֵלִין מִפְעֻלִין מִסְתַּפְעֵלִין מִסְתַּפְעֵלִין מִסְתַּפְעֵלִין מִפְעֻלִין
 גִּקְרָה בְּפִי גִקְרוּ וְלֹא נִקְרָאוּ בָּאוּ חֲרוּזִים לֹא קִרְאַם רַעִיוֹן
 מִסְתַּפְעֵלִין מִסְתַּפְעֵלִין מִסְתַּפְעֵלִין מִפְעֻלִין מִסְתַּפְעֵלִין מִסְתַּפְעֵלִין מִסְתַּפְעֵלִין מִפְעֻלִין
 הַשִּׁיר אָבֵל שְׁמְעוּ שְׁמַחַד וּבָאוּ לֹא נִמְנְעוּ מִבֵּא בְּרִסּוֹן מִשְׁקִלִי

‘Mouths did not previously fill with laughter / until,
 thanks to you hearts, swelled with pride

Rhymes appeared without being called by thought / they emerged from my mouth without being invited just like that

They did not resist entering the halter of the metre of the / poem, they simply heard your name and arrived.’ (Judah Halevi)

The second *ḏarb* can also appear with an identical ‘*arūd*’ (Sáenz-Badillos and Targarona 1998, 127):

מְסַתְפַּעֵלְוּ מְסַתְפַּעֵלְוּ מְפָעוּלְוּ	מְסַתְפַּעֵלְוּ מְסַתְפַּעֵלְוּ מְפָעוּלְוּ
חִבְרָה לְמַרְחֹק וְאִזְ תִּגְוַח	גָּרַשׁ מְגֵלָה סוּד חִבְרִים מִתּוֹךְ
יִשְׁפֹּךְ עָלַי שְׁנֵי דָמֵי תִפּוּחַ	וְיִשְׁפֹּךְ בְּפִי בְעַר דָּמֵי שְׁנֵי אֵם

‘Oust the one who reveals the secrets of the friends of the / group, far away, and then you will rest
Spill the blood of his teeth in the mouth of the fool if / he sheds the blood of an apple with his teeth.’ (Samuel ibn Nagrela Hanagid)

The second *ḏarb* can accept the *ḥabn* modification (מְפָעוּלְוּ → מְפָעוּלְוּ). This is called *makbūl*:

מְסַתְפַּעֵלְוּ מְסַתְפַּעֵלְוּ מְפָעוּלְוּ פְעוּלְוּ

7.3. Third *Ḍarb*

The third *ḏarb*, found in *mağzū*’ verse, is complete, and its ‘*arūd*’ is identical:

מְסַתְפַּעֵלְוּ מְסַתְפַּעֵלְוּ מְפָעוּלְוּ

7.4. Fourth *Ḍarb*

The fourth *ḏarb*, found in *maštūr* verse, is complete, and, because *maštūr* verse eliminates an entire hemistich, is at the same time the ‘*arūd*’ of the verse:

מְסַתְפַּעֵלְוּ מְסַתְפַּעֵלְוּ מְפָעוּלְוּ

7.5. Fifth *Ḍarb*

The fifth *Ḍarb*, found in *manhūk* verse, is complete, and its ‘*arūd*’ is identical:

מסתפעלן מסתפעלן

7.6. Other Forms

The verse may be reduced to only one foot: מסתפעלן

7.7. Modifications to All the Feet

The *ḥabn* modification (מסתפעלן → מפפעלן) is permitted in all the feet (*ḥašw*, ‘*arūd*’, and *Ḍarb*):

מפפעלן מפפעלן מפפעלן מפפעלן מפפעלן מפפעלן
מפפעלן מפפעלן מפפעלן מפפעלן מפפעלן מפפעלן

The *ṭayy* modification (מסתפעלן → מפפתעלן) is permitted in all the feet (*ḥašw*, ‘*arūd*’, and *Ḍarb*), anywhere in the poem (Brody and Schirmann 1974, 140.1; 219.1; 212.3):

מפפתעלן מסתפעלן מסתפעלן מפפתעלן
אל תאמן לבי באנשי הזמן אחר בגד רע חשבתי נאמן

‘Do not believe, my heart, in contemporaries / after betraying the companion I believed trustworthy.’ (Solomon ibn Gabirol)

מסתפעלן מסתפעלן מפפתעלן מפפתעלן
דודי אשר לבי בעיניו החליא איד העבדתני ואתה גאלי

‘My beloved, in whose eyes my heart has taken ill / how have you been able to enslave me being my redeemer.’ (Solomon ibn Gabirol)

מסתפעלן מפפתעלן מסתפעלן מסתפעלן
כמה לבבך יאבל כמה דמעוֹת תשאבי

‘How much mourning your heart will hold, / how many tears you will shed.’ (Solomon ibn Gabirol)

The following example (Brody 1894, II:75), which uses *tašrī*⁶ rhythm, features several instances of the *ṭayy* modification:

מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֹ מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֹ מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֹ	מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֹ מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֹ מִפְּעֹלֹ
עַל כֵּן בַּחַיִּי שׁוֹא וְרִיק אֶקְוֶצָה	לְקִרְאֵת מְקוֹר חַיִּי אֲמַת אַרְוֶצָה
מִפְּתַעֲלוֹ מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֹ מִפְּעֹלֹ	מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֹ מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֹ מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֹ
לֹא אֶעְרֹץ בְּלִתּוֹ וְלֹא אֶעְרִיצָה	לְרִאוֹת פְּנֵי מַלְכִי מְגַמְתִּי לְבַד
מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֹ מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֹ מִפְּעֹלֹ	מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֹ מִפְּתַעֲלוֹ מִפְּתַעֲלוֹ
אִישׁוֹן שְׁנַת עוֹלָם וְלֹא אֶקִּיצָה	מִי יִתְגַּנֵּי לְחַזוֹתוֹ בְּחִלּוֹם
מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֹ מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֹ מִפְּעֹלֹ	מִפְּתַעֲלוֹ מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֹ מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֹ
לֹא שְׂאֵלוֹ עֵינַי לְהַבִּיט חוּצָה	לוֹ אֶחְזָה פְּנֵיו בְּלִבִּי בֵּיתָה

‘I run to true life’s fountain / for that reason I scorn that which is vain and empty

I only wish to glimpse the face of my King / He and nobody else I fear and venerate

If only I could see Him in my dreams! / I would sleep an eternal sleep without awakening

If ever I saw His face in my heart / my eyes would no longer want to look outwards.’ (Judah Halevi)

The *ṭayy* modification may not appear until the very end of the poem (Pagis 1967, 2):

מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֹ מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֹ מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֹ	מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֹ מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֹ מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֹ
אִם עַל פְּשַׁעֲיָךְ מֵאֵד תִּתְחַלְחֵלִי	לְמָה יְחִידָתִי בְּדָם תִּתְגַּוְּלֵלִי
מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֹ מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֹ מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֹ	מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֹ מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֹ מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֹ
עֲלִיזוֹן וְעַד אֲזַן מִכָּאֵב תִּשְׁתּוֹלֵלִי	וְתִשְׁפְּכִי לְבַד כְּמוֹ מִים פְּנֵי
מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֹ מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֹ מִפְּתַעֲלוֹ	מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֹ מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֹ מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֹ
כֹּל הַנִּשְׁמָה יָהּ תִּהְלֵל הַלְּלִי	יְחוּד שְׁמוֹ בְּקֶר וְעָרַב צִלְצְלִי

‘Why my soul do you writhe in blood / if you tremble so
due to your transgressions

You spill your heart like water before / the Highest one
and how long will you remain estranged because of the
pain

It is called separation, morning and evening you must re-
sound / the whole soul, Yah, praise my praise.’ (Levi ibn
Altabban)

Equally, it may appear in the first verse (Sáenz-Badillos and Tar-
garona 1998, 147.1–2):

מִסְתַּפְעֵלֶן מִסְתַּפְעֵלֶן מִסְתַּפְעֵלֶן	מִסְתַּפְעֵלֶן מִסְתַּפְעֵלֶן מִסְתַּפְעֵלֶן
וַיִּקְרַ בְּרַקִּיעַ יְהִלֹּ סְהַרֹ	אֶרְאָה לְךָ הַדֶּר בְּשֶׁמֶשׁ זֹהָרוּ
מִסְתַּפְעֵלֶן מִסְתַּפְעֵלֶן מִסְתַּפְעֵלֶן	מִסְתַּפְעֵלֶן מִסְתַּפְעֵלֶן מִסְתַּפְעֵלֶן
אֵלֹו יְהִי קִים לְעֹלָם תִּאָּרוּ	מָה טֹוב וּמָה נְעִים אֲשֶׁר נָתַן לְךָ

‘You look beautiful like the sun in its splendour / lovely
like the moonlit firmament

How pleasant and delightful what was given to you /
may you forever preserve your beauty.’ (Samuel ibn
Nagrela Hanagid)

It may appear in the second verse with *tašrī‘* rhythm (Brody 1935,
143.1–3):

מִסְתַּפְעֵלֶן מִסְתַּפְעֵלֶן מִסְתַּפְעֵלֶן	מִסְתַּפְעֵלֶן מִסְתַּפְעֵלֶן מִסְתַּפְעֵלֶן
אֵיכָה בְּתוֹחֲלָתִי בְּעִירָם טָעֵנוּ	אִם אֶהְלִי דוֹדִי בְּנִפְשֵׁי צָעֵנוּ
מִסְתַּפְעֵלֶן מִסְתַּפְעֵלֶן מִסְתַּפְעֵלֶן	מִסְתַּפְעֵלֶן מִסְתַּפְעֵלֶן מִסְתַּפְעֵלֶן
מִיּוֹם לְיוֹם יִסְעוּ וְאֵךְ לֹא־יִחַנוּ	שִׁבְרִי וְשִׁמְחָתִי וְחִבְרַת אֶהְבִּי
מִסְתַּפְעֵלֶן מִסְתַּפְעֵלֶן מִסְתַּפְעֵלֶן	מִסְתַּפְעֵלֶן מִסְתַּפְעֵלֶן מִסְתַּפְעֵלֶן
וּבִיּוֹם בָּאָב עַל־הַדָּמִי יִשְׁעֵנוּ	צַר־לִי עָלַי חֲשָׁקִים בְּדַמְעָה יִבְטְחוּ

‘When the tents of my dearest are taken down along with
my soul / how is it that they load their mules with my
hope

My longing and joy with the company of my beloveds /
depart overnight with no intention of making camp

I suffer for those like me who prefer to weep silently /
and on a day of sorrow find support in silence.’ (Moses
ibn Ezra)

The *ḥabl* dual modification (מסתפּעלן → פּעלן) is also permitted
in *rağaz* metre.

Another possibility in this metre is that the poet can make
the ‘*arūd* and *ḍarb* in each verse rhyme independently; this type
of composition is called *rağaz muzdūğ*. Not all theoreticians are
agreed in recognising this kind of rhyme use.

8.0. Ramal

פּאעלאַתן פּאעלאַתן פּאעלאַתן פּאעלאַתן פּאעלאַתן פּאעלאַתן

This metre has six types of *ḍarb* and two types of ‘*arūd*.

8.1. First *Ḍarb*

The first *ḍarb* is complete, and its ‘*arūd* modified with *ḥadf*
(פּאעלאַתן → פּאעלן):

פּאעלאַתן פּאעלאַתן פּאעלאַתן פּאעלאַתן פּאעלאַתן פּאעלאַתן

8.2. Second *Ḍarb*

The second *ḍarb* is modified with *qaşr* (פּאעלאַתן → פּאעלאַן), and
its ‘*arūd* with *ḥadf* (פּאעלאַתן → פּאעלן):

פּאעלאַתן פּאעלאַתן פּאעלאַתן פּאעלאַתן פּאעלאַתן פּאעלאַתן

8.3. Third *Darb*

The third *darb* is modified with *ḥadf* (פּאעלֶאָתֶן → פּאעלֶן), and its ‘*arūd* is identical (Sáenz-Badillos and Targarona 1998, 143):

פּאעלֶאָתֶן פּאעלֶאָתֶן פּאעלֶן	פּאעלֶאָתֶן פּאעלֶאָתֶן פּאעלֶן
כּוּס לְקַצֵּהוּ וְאַתָּה תִּחְצֵה	הַיַּיִדִּים יִשְׁתִּיּוּ לְךָ מִקַּצֵּה
כּוּס לְקַצֵּהוּ הוּאֲתָתָה תִּחְצֵה	הַיַּיִדִּים יִשְׁתִּיּוּ לְךָ מִקַּצֵּה
אִישׁ אָמַר לוֹ קַח לְךָ זֶהוּב וְצֵא	סֹב שְׂתֵה כְּהֵם וְאִם יָרִיב בְּךָ
אֲשַׁמְרְלוֹ קַחֲלֵכָאזָא הַבּוּצָא	סֹבֶשְׁתִּיכָא הַמוּאִם יֶאֱרַבְבְּךָ

‘Friends drink to you to the bottom / of the glass and you leave half

Go drink like them and if someone reproaches you / tell him: take a dinar and get out of here.’ (Samuel ibn Nagrela Hanagid)

8.4. Fourth *Darb*

The fourth *darb*, found in *mağzū*’ verse, is modified with *tasbiğ* (פּאעלֶאָתֶן → פּאעלֶאָתֵאן), and its ‘*arūd* is complete:

פּאעלֶאָתֶן פּאעלֶאָתֶן פּאעלֶאָתֵאן

The fourth *darb* can accept the *ḥabn* modification (פּאעלֶאָתֵאן → פּעלֶאָתֵאן):

פּאעלֶאָתֶן פּאעלֶאָתֶן פּעלֶאָתֵאן

8.5. Fifth *Darb*

The fifth *darb*, found in *mağzū*’ verse, is complete, and its ‘*arūd* is identical (Brody and Schirmann 1974, 157.1; Sáenz-Badillos and Targarona 1998, 79.1–2):

פּאעלֶאָתֶן פּאעלֶאָתֶן	פּאעלֶאָתֶן פּאעלֶאָתֶן
הַזְמִן יְכֻלָּה וַיִּתֵּם	לְךָ לְךָ לְאִמְרִים כִּי

‘Get lost with those who say that / time ends and runs out.’ (Solomon ibn Gabirol)

תוֹךְ לְבָבִי אֵשׁ יְקוּדִים מְשֹׁאֵן פְּרוּד יְדִידִים
אֶשְׁבָּעָה מְדֵי אֲדָבָר בָּם עַדִּי נִשְׁף נְדוּדִים

‘There is a scorching fire within my heart / of grief due to the separation from my friends
I am sated whenever I speak / of them until the dawn of absences.’ (Samuel ibn Nagrela Hanagid)

8.6. Sixth *Ḍarb*

The sixth *ḏarb*, found in *mağzū*’ verse, is modified with *ḥadf* (פּאעלאַתן → פּאעלן), and its ‘*arūd* is complete:

פּאעלאַתן פּאעלאַתן פּאעלן

This *ḏarb* may appear in *tašrī*’ rhythm:

פּאעלאַתן פּאעלן פּאעלאַתן פּאעלן

8.7. Modifications to All the Feet

The *ḥabn* modification (פּאעלאַתן → פּעלאַתן) is permitted in all the feet (*ḥašw*, ‘*arūd*, and *ḏarb*):

פּעלאַתן פּעלאַתן פּעלאַתן פּעלאַתן פּעלאַתן פּעלאַתן
פּעלאַתן פּעלאַתן פּעלאַתן פּעלאַתן

The following example (Brody and Schirmann 1974, 157.4–5) includes two instances of this modification:

פּאעלאַתן פּאעלאַתן פּאעלאַתן פּאעלאַתן
לַעֲלוֹתָם אִו לְרֹדְתָם מֵה תְּשִׁימוּן עוֹד לְבַבְכֶם
פּאעלאַתן פּאעלאַתן פּאעלאַתן פּאעלאַתן
עַל יְקוּתֵיִּאל אֲשֶׁר תָּם מֵאֲסוּ כָּל זֶה וְתִמְהוּ

‘Why do you heed / its risings and settings?’

Sneer at all that and marvel / at Yekutiel who was perfect.’ (Solomon ibn Gabirol)

The *kaff* modification (פּאַעלאַתְּ → פּאַעלאַתְּךָ) is also permitted in all the feet (*ḥašw*, *‘arūd*, and *ḏarb*):

פּאַעלאַתְּ פּאַעלאַתְּ פּאַעלאַתְּ	פּאַעלאַתְּ פּאַעלאַתְּ פּאַעלאַתְּ
פּאַעלאַתְּ פּאַעלאַתְּ	פּאַעלאַתְּ פּאַעלאַתְּ

The *šakl* modification (פּאַעלאַתְּךָ → פּעלאַתְּךָ) is, again, permitted in all the feet (*ḥašw*, *‘arūd*, and *ḏarb*):

פּעלאַתְּ פּעלאַתְּ פּעלאַתְּ	פּעלאַתְּ פּעלאַתְּ פּעלאַתְּ
פּעלאַתְּ פּעלאַתְּ	פּעלאַתְּ פּעלאַתְּ

The following sequences of modifications are permitted:

פּאַעלאַתְּךָ פּאַעלאַתְּךָ
פּעלאַתְּךָ פּעלאַתְּךָ
פּאַעלאַתְּךָ פּעלאַתְּךָ
פּעלאַתְּךָ פּאַעלאַתְּךָ

9.0. *Sarī*^c

מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֶן מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֶן מִפְּעוּלֵאֵת מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֶן מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֶן מִפְּעוּלֵאֵת

The complete form of this metre is not used. It has six classes of *ḏarb* and four classes of *‘arūd*.

9.1. First *Ḍarb*

The first *ḏarb* is modified with *ṭayy* and *waqf* (מִפְּעוּלֵאֵת → מִפְּעֵלֵאֵת → מִפְּעֵלֵאֵן), and its *‘arūd* with *ṭayy* and *kašf* (מִפְּעוּלֵאֵת → מִפְּעֵלֵאֵת → מִפְּעֵלֵן):

מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֶן מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֶן מִפְּעוּלֵאֵת	מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֶן מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֶן פּאַעלאַתְּ
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A type of *ḏarb* that has only been modified with *ṭayy* (מִפְּעֵלֵאֵת) and, since the last vowel of the *watid mafrūq* is in the position of the rhyme, counts it as long (מִפְּעֵלֵאֵת), seems to fit in this group (Sáenz-Badillos and Targarona 1998, 133.1):

מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֹן מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֹן מִפְּעֻלָּתָן	מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֹן מִפְּתַעֲלֹן פֹּאעֲלֹן
בְּקִבּוּק וְרוּץ לְכַד וּמְלֵא וְהִבִּיא	קַח מִצְּבִי בּוֹס וְאַמֵּר לוֹ קַחְהָ
בְּקִבְּקוֹרֵץ לְכַבְּדוּמֵל לְאוֹהָבָא	קַחְמִצְּבִי כְּסוֹאֵמֵר לוֹקַחְהָ

‘Take the glass from the roe and tell him: Take / the bottle, run to the cask, fill it and bring it.’ (Samuel ibn Nagrela Hanagid)

9.2. Second *Darb*

The second *darb* is modified with *tayy* and *kašf* (מִפְּעֻלָּתָן → מִפְּעֻלָּתָן → מִפְּעֻלָּתָן), and its ‘*arūḏ* is identical (Brody and Schirmann 1974, 199.1–2):

מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֹן מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֹן פֹּאעֲלֹן	מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֹן מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֹן פֹּאעֲלֹן
שְׂרוֹת עָלַי פֹּארוֹת וְלֹא לְמַדוּ	הִנֵּה בְּנֹת עֲגוּר אֲשֶׁר נוֹעְדוּ
הוֹלֵךְ וְלֹא תִשְׁתּוּ וְלֹא תִחָדוּ	אֵיךְ תִּשְׁמְעוּ קוֹלֵם בְּגַנַּת אֲגוּז

‘Behold some birdies over there who have come together / to sing on the branches without having been taught How can you listen to their voices dispersed around the fields of walnuts / without drinking or laughing?’ (Solomon ibn Gabirol)

9.3. Third *Darb*

The third *darb* is modified with *šalm* (מִפְּעֻלָּתָן → פֹּאעֲלֹן), and its ‘*arūḏ* with *tayy* and *kašf* (מִפְּעֻלָּתָן → מִפְּעֻלָּתָן → מִפְּעֻלָּתָן):

מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֹן מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֹן פֹּאעֲלֹן	מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֹן מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֹן פֹּאעֲלֹן
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9.4. Fourth *Darb*

The fourth *darb* is modified with *ḥabl* and *kašf* (מִפְּעֻלָּתָן → מִפְּעֻלָּתָן), and its ‘*arūḏ* is identical:

מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֹן מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֹן פֹּעֲלֹן	מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֹן מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֹן פֹּעֲלֹן
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The fourth *ḏarb* can accept the *ṣalm* modification (מפעולות → פאעל):

מסתפעלן מסתפעלן פאעל מסתפעלן מסתפעלן פאעל

The poet can take advantage of a manoeuvre allowed by the rhyme (*tahrīd*; see below on defects in the rhyme) to play with the reader, who cannot know whether the poet is using this last variant of the fourth *ḏarb*, or the third *ḏarb*, because it is possible for the ‘*arūd*’ of the verse to be read in accordance with either pattern, depending on whether or not pauses are introduced to adjust the metre (Sáenz-Badillos and Targarona 1998, 221):

בְּשַׁחֲקוֹ לָךְ אוֹ בְּעַת יְבִיבָה	בְּזֶה זְמַן בּוֹגֵד וְאַל תִּאֶמֵּן
צָרִי לְמַכְתְּדִי וַיּוֹם יָבֵה	לְבַעֲבוֹר כִּי יוֹם יִהְיֶה מֵעֵלָה
בְּטַח וְאַם יִתְמַהֲמַה חֲבֵה	בְּטוֹב אֲשֶׁר יִמִּיר זְמַן רַע בְּטוֹב

‘Spurn the traitor time and do not trust it / when it
laughs at you or when it cries

Because one day it will cover / your wound with a salve
and another it will injure you

In the Good that makes a bad time good / trust, and even
though He takes a while, wait.’ (Samuel ibn Nagrela Ha-
nagid)

The ‘*arūd*’ in the last verse (רַע בְּטוֹב) can only be read as the ‘*arūd*’ of the third *ḏarb*, not that of the fourth. This confirms that the ‘*arūds*’ of the previous verses, תִּאֶמֵּן and מֵעֵלָה, must be read in the same way. Taking into account that the feet that open the hemistichs are all variously modified with *ḥabn* (מפאעלן) and *ḥabl* (פעלתן), the complete scansion of the verses is as follows:

מפאעלן מסתפעלן פאעלן פעלתן מסתפעלן פאעל
פעלתן מסתפעלן פאעלן מפאעלן מסתפעלן פאעל
מפאעלן מסתפעלן פאעלן מפאעלן מסתפעלן פאעל

9.5. Fifth *Ḍarb*

The fifth *Ḍarb*, found in *mašṭūr* verse, is modified with *waqf* (מִפְעוּלֵאֵן → מִפְעוּלֵאֵת), and, because *mašṭūr* verse eliminates an entire hemistich, it is at the same time the ‘*arūd*’ of the verse:

מִסְתַּפְעֵלֹן מִסְתַּפְעֵלֹן מִפְעוּלֵאֵן

The fifth *Ḍarb* can accept the *ḥabn* modification (מִפְעוּלֵאֵן → פְּעוּלֵאֵן):

מִסְתַּפְעֵלֹן מִסְתַּפְעֵלֹן פְּעוּלֵאֵן

9.6. Sixth *Ḍarb*

The sixth *Ḍarb*, found in *mašṭūr* verse, is modified with *kašf* (מִפְעוּלֵאֵן → מִפְעוּלֵאֵת), and, again, is at the same time the ‘*arūd*’ (Sáenz-Badillos and Targarona 1998, 220.1):

מִסְתַּפְעֵלֹן מִסְתַּפְעֵלֹן מִפְעוּלֵאֵן

תִּדְעַ בְּנֵי כִי צוֹר יִצְרָךְ נוֹרָא

‘You must know, my child, that the Rock, your Creator, is terrible.’ (Samuel ibn Nagrela Hanagid)

The sixth *Ḍarb* can accept the *ḥabn* modification (מִפְעוּלֵאֵן → פְּעוּלֵאֵן):

מִפְעוּלֵאֵן מִסְתַּפְעֵלֹן פְּעוּלֵאֵן

9.7. Modifications to the Filling Feet

The following modifications may affect the filling feet in *sarī‘* metre:

ḥabn: מִסְתַּפְעֵלֹן → מִפְעוּלֵאֵן

tayy: מִסְתַּפְעֵלֹן → מִפְתַּפְעֵלֹן

ḥabl: מִסְתַּפְעֵלֹן → פְּעוּלֵאֵן

10.0. *Munsariḥ*

מסתפעלן מפעולאת מסתפעלן מסתפעלן מפעולאת מסתפעלן

The use of this metre in its complete form is rare. It has four classes of *ḍarb* and three classes of *‘arūd*.

10.1. First *Ḍarb*

The first *ḍarb* is modified with *ṭayy* (מסתפעלן → מפתעלן), and its *‘arūd* is complete (or identical, which is preferable):

מסתפעלן מפעולאת מסתפעלן מסתפעלן מפעולאת מסתפעלן
מסתפעלן מפעולאת מסתפעלן מסתפעלן מפעולאת מסתפעלן

10.2. Second *Ḍarb*

The second *ḍarb* is modified with *qaṭʿ* (מסתפעלן → מפעולן), and its *‘arūd* with *ṭayy* (מסתפעלן → מפתעלן). The rhyme must be preceded by a lengthening letter (*ridf*):

מסתפעלן מפעולאת מפעולן מסתפעלן מפעולאת מפעולן

10.3. Third *Ḍarb*

The third *ḍarb*, found in *manhūk* verse, is modified with *waqf* (מפעולאת → מפעולאן) and, because *manhūk* verse preserves only two feet of a verse, it is at the same time the *‘arūd*. The rhyme must be preceded by a lengthening letter (*ridf*):

מסתפעלן מפעולאן

The third *ḍarb* can accept the *ḥabn* modification (מפעולאן → מפעולאן):

מסתפעלן פעולאן

10.4. Fourth *Ḍarb*

The fourth *Ḍarb*, found in *manhūk* verse, is modified with *kašf* (מפְעוּלָן → מפְעוּלָתָ) and, again, is at the same time the ‘*arūd*:

מסתפעלו מפעולו

I have also identified this *Ḍarb* in *mağzū’* verse, with an identical ‘*arūd* (Brody and Schirmann 1974, 228.1–2):

מסתפעלו מפעולו מסתפעלו מפעולו

משמן בשרי ידל וכאב לבבי יגדל

מסתפעלו מפעולו מסתפעלו מפעולו

בקרוב תפלת מנחה ואני לבדי נבדל

‘The fat of my body decreases / while the sorrow in my
heart grows
during the afternoon prayer / and, in my solitude, I cut
myself off.’ (Solomon ibn Gabirol)

10.5. Modifications to the Filling Feet

The following modifications may affect the filling feet in *mun-sariḥ* metre:

ḥabn: מסתפעלו → מפאעלן

ḥabn: מפעולאת → מפאעיל

tayy: מסתפעלו → מסתפעלן

tayy: מפעולאת → מפעולאת

ḥabl: מסתפעלו → פעלתן

ḥabl: מפעולאת → פעולאת

11.0. *Ḥafif*

פאעלאתן מסתפעל לן פאעלאתן פאעלאתן מסתפעל לן פאעלאתן

This metre has five classes of *Ḍarb* and three classes of ‘*arūd*.

11.1. First *Ḍarb*

The first *Ḍarb* is complete, and its *‘arūd* is identical (Sáenz Badillos and Targarona 1998, 174.1):

פּאעלאַתן מִסְתַּפֵּע לֹן פּאעלאַתן פּאעלאַתן מִסְתַּפֵּע לֹן פּאעלאַתן

The following example uses the first *Ḍarb* and has filling feet modified with *ḥabn*:

פּאעלאַתן מִפּאעלֹן פּאעלאַתן	פּאעלאַתן מִפּאעלֹן פּאעלאַתן
הָאָמוּנָה עָלַי קִצְיֹוֹת וְקִדָּה	דְּבָרוּ נָא לְבַת מְלָכִים כְּבוֹדָה
הָאָמוּנָה עָלַי קִצְיֹוֹת עֲתוֹקִדָּה	דְּבָרוּנָא לְבַת־מְלָא כְּמִכְבוֹדָה

‘Please tell the noble princess / who grew up amongst
cassia and amber.’ (Samuel ibn Nagrela Hanagid)

The first *Ḍarb* can accept the *taš‘it* modification (פּאעלאַתן → מִפּאעלֹן):

פּאעלאַתן מִסְתַּפֵּע לֹן מִפּאעלֹן פּאעלאַתן מִסְתַּפֵּע לֹן מִפּאעלֹן

It is also found used with an *‘arūd* modified in the same way (Sáenz-Badillos and Targarona 1998, 140.1):

פּאעלאַתן מִסְתַּפֵּע לֹן מִפּאעלֹן	פּאעלאַתן מִסְתַּפֵּע לֹן מִפּאעלֹן
לֵב אֲדוֹנָיו יִצוּד בְּלֹא מִכְמֶרֶת	לְבֹוּנֵי עֵינָי צָבִי לִי שֶׁרֶת

‘The eyes of the roe that serves me dupe me, / the heart
of his lords hunts with no net.’ (Samuel ibn Nagrela Hanagid)

It can accept the *ḥabn* modification (פּאעלאַתן → פּעלאַתן):

פּאעלאַתן מִסְתַּפֵּע לֹן פּאעלאַתן פּאעלאַתן מִסְתַּפֵּע לֹן פּעלאַתן

11.2. Second *Ḍarb*

The second *Ḍarb* is modified with *ḥadf* (פּאָעלאַתן → פּאַעלן), and its ‘*arūḏ*’ is complete:

פּאָעלאַתן מִסְתַּפֵּע לֹן פּאַעלן פּאָעלאַתן מִסְתַּפֵּע לֹן פּאַעלן

11.3. Third *Ḍarb*

The third *Ḍarb* is modified with *ḥadf* (פּאָעלאַתן → פּאַעלן), and its ‘*arūḏ*’ is identical:

פּאָעלאַתן מִסְתַּפֵּע לֹן פּאַעלן פּאָעלאַתן מִסְתַּפֵּע לֹן פּאַעלן

The third *Ḍarb* and its ‘*arūḏ*’ can accept the *ḥabn* modification (פּאַעלן → פּאַעלן):

פּאָעלאַתן מִסְתַּפֵּע לֹן פּאַעלן פּאַעלן מִסְתַּפֵּע לֹן פּאַעלן

The third *Ḍarb* can also be modified with *qat* (פּאַעלן → פּאַעל):

פּאַעלן מִסְתַּפֵּע לֹן פּאַעל פּאַעלן מִסְתַּפֵּע לֹן פּאַעל

11.4. Fourth *Ḍarb*

The fourth *Ḍarb*, found in *maǧzū*’ verse, is complete, and its ‘*arūḏ*’ is identical:

פּאָעלאַתן מִסְתַּפֵּע לֹן פּאַעלאַתן מִסְתַּפֵּע לֹן

This *Ḍarb* in *maǧzū*’ verse can accept *ḥabn* (מִסְתַּפֵּע לֹן → מִפּאַע לֹן), in which case, its ‘*arūḏ*’ is identically modified (Sáenz-Badillos and Targarona 1998, 184.1–2):

פּאַעלאַתן מִפּאַע לֹן	פּאַעלאַתן מִפּאַע לֹן
דִּים עֲצָמֵי יֶאֱבְלוּ	אֵשׁ נְדוּדִים לְנֹד יִדִּי
פּאַעלאַתן מִפּאַע לֹן	פּאַעלאַתן מִפּאַע לֹן
גִּים מְעוֹנִים יֶחְבְּלוּ	בְּחֹזְתֵי בְּנֵי יַעֲ

‘Fire of absence for the departure of fri/ends my bones
mourn

When I see the chicks of ost/riches destroying the abodes.’ (Samuel ibn Nagrela Hanagid)

11.5. Fifth *Ḍarb*

The fifth *ḏarb*, found in *mağzū’* verse, is modified by *ḥabn* and *qaṣr* (מסתפֿע לִן → מתפֿע לִן → פעולִן), and its ‘*arūḏ* is complete:

פּאעלאַתִּן מִסְתַּפֿע לִן פּאעלאַתִּן פּעוּלִן

It may occur with *taṣrī’* rhythm:

פּאעלאַתִּן פּעוּלִן פּאעלאַתִּן פּעוּלִן

11.6. Modifications to the Filling Feet

The following modifications may affect the filling feet in *ḥafif* metre (Pagis 1967, 9):

ḥabn: פּאעלאַתִּן → פּעלאַתִּן

ḥabn: מִסְתַּפֿע לִן → מִפּאע לִן

פּאעלאַתִּן מִפּאע לִן פּאעלאַתִּן

פּאעלאַתִּן מִפּאע לִן פּאעלאַתִּן

אוֹר נְתִיבִי וּבָדַד מְנַתִּי וְחִבְלִי

לֹא אֶהְלֵךְ בְּמַחְשָׁבִים וְאַתָּה

פּאעלאַתִּן מִפּאע לִן פּאעלאַתִּן

פּעלאַתִּן מִפּאע לִן פּאעלאַתִּן

אַזְכָּרָה חֶסֶדְךָ וְאַנְשָׁה עִמָּלִי

וְעִמָּלִי בְּדַתְךָ לִי מְנוּחָה

פּעלאַתִּן מִפּאע לִן פּאעלאַתִּן

פּאעלאַתִּן מִפּאע לִן פּאעלאַתִּן

וְאַנִּי רַק דְּבַרְךָ נֵר לְרַגְלִי

יִיעֲפוּ בּוֹעָרִים וְנוֹקְשׁוּ חֲשָׁכִים

‘I will not praise You in the darkness because You are /
the light on my path and in You is my support and suste-
nance

My zeal for Your Law is my rest / I remember Your mercy
and my weariness is forgotten

Transgressors waste away and fall in the snare of the
darkness / but I alone have Your word, a lamp for my
feet.’ (Levi ibn Altabban)

kaff: פאעלאַתן → פאעלאַת

kaff: מִסְתַּפְּעֵל → מִסְתַּפְּעֵל

šakl: פאעלאַתן → פּעלאַת

šakl: מִסְתַּפְּעֵל → מִפּאעֵל

A foot modified by *kaff* (מִסְתַּפְּעֵל → מִסְתַּפְּעֵל) cannot precede פּעלאַתן.

12.0. *Muḏāri*^c

מפּאעֵלן פּאע לאַתן מפּאעֵלן מפּאעֵלן פּאע לאַתן מפּאעֵלן

This metre is usually used in its *mağzū*⁷ form. פּאעלאַתן is considered a *watid mafrūq* (פּאע) followed by two *sabab ḥafif* (לאַתן).

12.1. First *Ḍarb*

The first *ḍarb*, found in *mağzū*⁷ verse, is complete, and its *‘arūd* is identical:

מפּאעֵלן פּאע לאַתן מפּאעֵלן פּאע לאַתן

The *kaff* modification can be applied to the *‘arūd* (פּאע לאַתן → פּאעלאַתן):

מפּאעֵלן פּאעלאַתן מפּאעֵלן פּאע לאַתן

12.2. Modifications to the Filling Feet

The following modifications may affect the filling feet in *muḏāri*^c metre:

qabḏ: מפּאעֵלן → מפּאעֵלן

kaff: מפּאעֵלן → מפּאעֵלן

šitr: מפּאעֵלן → פּאעֵלן

ḥarb: מפּאעֵלן → מפּעֵלן

In particular, *ḥazm* is quite common:

מפּאעֵלן פּאע לאַתן

פּע מפּאעֵלן פּאע לאַתן

13.0. *Muqtaḏab*

מפּעֹלֶאֶת מְסַתְפֵּל מְסַתְפֵּל מְסַתְפֵּל מְסַתְפֵּל מְסַתְפֵּל

This metre is only rarely used. It is usually used in its *maḡzū'* form.

13.1. First *Ḍarb*

The first *ḏarb*, found in *maḡzū'* verse, is modified with *ṭayy* (מְסַתְפֵּל → מְפַתֵּל), and its *‘arūḏ* is identical:

פּאעֹלֶאֶת מְפַתֵּל פּאעֹלֶאֶת מְפַתֵּל

13.2. Modifications to the Filling Feet

The following modifications may affect the filling feet in *muqtaḏab* metre:

ḥabn: מְפַעֹלֶאֶת → מְפַאעִיל

ṭayy: מְפַעֹלֶאֶת → פּאעֹלֶאֶת

As in *muḏāri'* metre, *ḥazm* is quite common:

פּעֹלֶאֶת מְפַאעִיל פּעֹלֶאֶת מְפַאעִיל פּעֹלֶאֶת מְפַאעִיל

14.0. *Muḡtaṭ*

מְסַתְפֵּל לֹ פּאעֹלֶאֶת מְסַתְפֵּל לֹ פּאעֹלֶאֶת מְסַתְפֵּל לֹ פּאעֹלֶאֶת מְסַתְפֵּל לֹ פּאעֹלֶאֶת

This metre is only rarely used. It is usually used in its *maḡzū'* form.

14.1. First *Ḍarb*

The first *Ḍarb*, found in *mağzū'* verse, is complete, and its '*arūd* is identical (Brody and Schirmann 1974, 111.1–2; Jarden 1992, 60:1):

מִסְתַּפֵּעַ לֹן פִּאעֲלֵאֲתֹן	מִסְתַּפֵּעַ לֹן פִּאעֲלֵאֲתֹן
דְּבַק לְחֻפֵי לְשׁוֹנִי	נִחַר בְּקִרְאֵי גְרוֹנִי
דְּאִבְקֵל חֵד בִּילְשׁוֹנִי	נִיחַרְבַּ קַר אֵיגְרוֹנִי
מְרַב כְּאֵבִי וְאוֹנִי	הִיָּה לְבָבִי סִחְרָחַר
מִירְבֵּב אֵי בִּיאוֹנִי	הֵאֵיֵל בָּא בִּיסִחְרָחַר

‘My throat is hoarse from shouting / my tongue has got stuck to the roof of my mouth
My heart is alarmed / at the scale of my grief and my sorrow.’ (Solomon ibn Gabirol)

מִסְתַּפֵּעַ לֹן פִּאעֲלֵאֲתֹן	מִסְתַּפֵּעַ לֹן פִּאעֲלֵאֲתֹן
תִּשֵּׁם בְּלִבְךָ כְּוִיָּה	אִם תִּפְגַּעְשֶׁךָ תִּלְאַה

‘When sorrow reaches you / it leaves a scar on your heart.’ (Samuel ibn Nagrela Hanagid)

This *Ḍarb* can accept the *taš‘ūt* modification (פִּאעֲלֵאֲתֹן → מִפְּעֻלוֹן):

מִפְּעֻלוֹן פִּאעֲלֵאֲתֹן מִפְּעֻלוֹן מִפְּעֻלוֹן

14.2. Modifications to All the Feet

The *ḥabn* modification (פִּאעֲלֵאֲתֹן → פִּעֲלֵאֲתֹן) is permitted in any foot:

מִפְּעֻלוֹן פִּעֲלֵאֲתֹן מִפְּעֻלוֹן פִּעֲלֵאֲתֹן

The *kaff* modification (פִּאעֲלֵאֲתֹן → פִּאעֲלֵאֲתֹן) is also permitted in any foot:

מִסְתַּפֵּעַל פִּאעֲלֵאֲתֹן מִסְתַּפֵּעַל פִּאעֲלֵאֲתֹן

The *šakl* modification (מסתפּע לון → מפּאעל and פּאעלאַתן → פּעלאַת) is permitted, but never in both different types of foot within the same verse (Brody and Schirrmann 1974, 110.4):

מסתפּע לון פּאעלאַתן	מפּאעל פּאעלאַתן
יבּער כּמוּ אשׁ חרוּני	כּמה אַיחל וּכמה

‘How long will I wait? How long / will my anger burn
like a fire?’ (Solomon ibn Gabirol)

מסתפּע לון פּעלאַת מסתפּע לון פּעלאַת

The *hazm* modification can add up to two syllables to the beginning of the verse.

15.0. *Mutaqārib*

פּעולוּ פּעולוּ פּעולוּ פּעולוּ פּעולוּ פּעולוּ פּעולוּ פּעולוּ

This metre has six types of *ḍarb* and two types of ‘*arūd*.

15.1. First *Ḍarb*

The first *ḍarb* is complete, and its ‘*arūd* is identical (Brody and Schirrmann 1974, 98.1–2):

פּעולוּ פּעולוּ פּעולוּ פּעולוּ	פּעולוּ פּעולוּ פּעולוּ פּעולוּ
ואם אתּ בּפּי כּל אַנּשׁים צּעירָה	כּשׁמשׁ מְרוּמִים הִכּי אַתּ גְּבִירָה
ואמאֶתּ בּפּיכּל אַנּאשׁם צּעירָה	כּשׁאמֶשׁ מְרוּמִם הִכּיאַתּ גְּבִירָה
חֶשְׁבוּדַּי עָלַי רֹאשׁ שְׁחָקִים צּפִירָה	וְעָלִיתּ וְרַחֵק מְקוֹמִי עָדֵי כִי
חֶשְׁאֲבֵד עֲלִירֶשׁ שְׁחָאקִם צּפִירָה	וְעָאֵלֵתּ וְרַחֵק מְקוֹמִי עָדֵיכִי

‘Like the sun on high so are you lady / although in the
mouth of all men you are small

You rose and your place moved away until they began to
think / that perching above the skies you were the morn-
ing star.’ (Solomon ibn Gabirol)

This *ḍarb* can be used with *taṣrīʿ* rhythm:

פעול פֿעול פֿע פעול פֿעול פֿע

15.7. Modifications to the Filling Feet

The following modifications may affect the filling feet in *mutaqārib* metre (Sáenz-Badillos and Targarona 1998, 199.3–4; Brody 1935, 13.1, from ‘*anaq* chapter IX):

qabd: פעולן → פעול

פעולן פעולן פעולן פעולן פעולן פעולן פעולן פעולן
הִירְצָה יְדִידִי וְהוּא יַחֲשֵׁב אֶת רְצוֹנִי כְּקִצְפִי וְטוֹבִי כְּחוּבִי
פעולן פעולן פעולן פעולן פעולן פעולן פעולן פעולן
אֶחֱזַנּוּ וַיִּקְשֶׁה וְאֵהֵב וַיִּשְׁנֵא וְאֵעַן אֶמֶת בּוֹ וְשׂוֹא יַעֲנֶה בִּי

‘Will my friend so want? He thinks that / my will is like
my ire and my good like my debt
I beg and he is obstinate, I love and he hates / I answer
the truth and no one responds to me.’ (Samuel ibn
Nagrela Hanagid)

talm: פעולן → פֿאעל

פֿאעל פעולן פעולן פעולן פֿאעל פעולן פעולן פעולן פעולן
אָמַר לִבִּי הִכִּי עַל רְצוֹן אֵל נִבְרָא וְלֹא עַל רְצוֹנוֹ וְהוֹדָה

‘My heart said: how is it that by divine will / it was cre-
ated and not by its own will and declaration.’ (Moses ibn
Ezra)

tarm: פעולן → פעל

3. THE FIVE CIRCLES AND THE DERIVATIVE METRES

Tradition holds that Alḥalīl divided the 15 metres into five circles, using the associative criterion of the similarity between some of the metres in the relative positions of their *sabab* and *watid* syllables. However, he did not exhaust all the possibilities inherent in this system, and soon poets and theoreticians began to derive additional metres that the theory of the metrical spheres had the potential to accommodate as correct forms. The forms codified by Alḥalīl (*mustaʿmal*) were considered proper and current, while the innovated forms (*muḥmal*) were considered made-up and inappropriate, although, as seen below, some of them were widely accepted and successful, even amongst the Hebrew poets.

1.0. The First Circle

The first circle is called *muḥtalaf*. The metres included in this circle are always made up of two asymmetrical feet (one with five letters and the other with seven), with each foot being repeated twice per hemistich. It therefore includes the classical metres *tawīl* (פּעוּלָן מִפּאַעִלָן) $\times 2$ in each hemistich), *madīd* (פּאַעִלָאָתָן פּאַעִלָן) $\times 2$ in each hemistich), and *basīṭ* (מִסְתַּפְּעִלָן פּאַעִלָן) $\times 2$ in each hemistich).

According to tradition, this circle is termed *muḥtalaf* ‘different’ because its metres are made up of feet with both five and

seven letters. The three metres in this circle are arranged according to the position of the *watid* in the first foot. The sequence begins with *ṭawīl*, a metre that begins with *watid* (פָּעוּ). *Ṭawīl* is followed by *madīd*, whose first foot would begin in the position of the *sabab* of the first foot of *ṭawīl* (לְ), while its *watid* (עֲלֵא) would coincide with the second foot of *ṭawīl* (מַפָּא). Finally, *basīṭ* places its first *watid* (עֲלֵ) in the position occupied by the *watid* of the third foot of *ṭawīl* (פָּעוּ).

Later, theoreticians realised that, if the sequence of the feet in *ṭawīl* metre was reversed, the result fit perfectly in the circle between *madīd* and *basīṭ*, and that it also began with *watid*—in other words, מַפָּאעֲלֵן פָּעוּלְ, a metre that they called *mustaṭīl*. The same occurred after *basīṭ* in the circle, where the inverted version of *madīd* fit perfectly—in other words, פָּאעֲלֵן פָּאעֲלֵאָתְ, a metre termed *mumtadd*. No metre was derived in this way from *basīṭ*, because its inverted sequence is the same as *madīd*.

The completed circle is configured as follows:

s	w	s	w	s	s	w	s	w	
				לְ	עֵ	מַפָּא	לְ	פָּעוּ	<i>ṭawīl</i>
			עֲלֵן	פָּא	תְּ	עֲלֵא	פָּא		<i>madīd</i>
		לְ	פָּעוּ	לְ	עֵ	מַפָּא			<i>mustaṭīl</i>
	עֲלֵן	פָּא	עֲלֵן	תְּ	מַסְ				<i>basīṭ</i>
תְּ	עֲלֵא	פָּא	עֲלֵן	פָּא					<i>mumtadd</i>

2.0. The Second Circle

The second circle is called *maʿutalaf*, or ‘harmonious’, and is made up of two symmetrical hemistichs that repeat the same foot three times. It includes the classical metres *wāfir* (מַפָּאעֲלֵתְ) × 3 in each hemistich) and *kāmīl* (מִתְּפָּאעֲלֵן) × 3 in each hemistich). It

was named for its structure: seven-letter feet that repeat. Its metres are arranged according to the position of the *watid* in the first foot. Once again, there was a realisation that another form could be included in this sphere by placing the *watid* in the centre of the foot, in other words פּאָעלאַתָּךְ, and this is called *mutawafir*, or alternatively, *mu‘tamad*:

S	W	S	S	W	
		תָּן	עַל	מִפּאָ	<i>wāfir</i>
	עַלָּן	פּאָ	מִתְּ		<i>kāmil</i>
תָּן	עַלָּא	פּאָ			<i>mutawafir</i>

3.0. The Third Circle

The third circle is called *muğtalab*, or ‘imported’. It is made up of two symmetrical hemistichs that repeat the same foot three times. It includes the classical metres *hazağ* (מִפּאָעַלָּן $\times 3$ in each hemistich), *rağaz* (מִסְתַּפְּעַלָּן $\times 3$ in each hemistich), and *ramal* (פּאָעַלָּאָתָּן $\times 3$ in each hemistich). Its name is due to the fact that it has ‘imported’ the feet from the first circle (מִפּאָעַלָּן from *ṭawīl*, פּאָעַלָּאָתָּן from *madīd*, and מִסְתַּפְּעַלָּן from *basīṭ*). Its metres are arranged first according to the position of the *watid*, and subsequently according to the position of their syllables in relation to the *hazağ* foot.

S	W	S	S	W	
		לָּן	עַי	מִפּאָ	<i>hazağ</i>
	עַלָּן	תְּפָ	מִסְ		<i>rağaz</i>
תָּן	עַלָּא	פּאָ			<i>ramal</i>

4.0. The Fourth Circle

The fourth circle is known as *muštabah*. It is made up of a set of three feet, two of one type and one of another, that repeats in each hemistich. It includes the classical metres *sarī*^c (מסתפּעלן מְפּעולאַתּ ×1 in each hemistich), *munsariḥ* (מסתפּעלן מְפּעולאַתּ ×1 in each hemistich), *ḥafīf* (פּאעלאַתּוּן מְפּעולאַתּ ×1 in each hemistich), *muḏāri*^c (מפּאעילן פּאע לאַתּוּן מְפּעולאַתּ ×1 in each hemistich), *muqtaḏab* (מְפּעולאַתּ מְפּעולאַתּ מְפּעולאַתּ ×1 in each hemistich), and *muḡtat* (מְפּעולאַתּ פּאעלאַתּוּן פּאעלאַתּוּן ×1 in each hemistich). The word *muštabah* has a double meaning in Arabic; in this context, some say that it means ‘similar’, because the metres of this circle are made up of seven-letter feet that repeat symmetrically, while others prefer to understand it as ‘ambiguous’, because of the confusion between *watid maḡmū*^c and *watid mafrūq* in some of its metres. Moreover, the arrangement of the fourth circle does not follow the pattern established by the previous circles, according to which the first metre should be *muḏāri*^c, as the metre that begins with *watid*. Rather, since the complete form of *muḏāri*^c metre is never used, the circle is arranged around *sarī*^c. Once again, new sequences (*muhmal*) are produced, until the nine points of the circle are completed. The innovated metres are *muta^ʔid* (also known as *ḡarīb*), *munsarid* (also known as *qarīb*), and *muṭṭarid* (also known as *mušākil*):

S	S	W	S	S	W	S	S	W	S	S	W	S	S	W	S	S
									מָס	תָּפ	עֵלֹן	מָפ	עֹ	לֹא	תָּ	<i>sari^c</i>
									מָס	תָּפֵע	לֹן	פֹּא	עֵלֹא	תֹן	פֹּא	<i>muta²id</i>
									מָפֹא	עֵי	לֹן	מָפֹא	עֵי	לֹן	פֹּאֵע	<i>munsarid</i>
									מָס	תָּפ	עֵלֹן	מָפ	עֹ	לֹא	תָּ	<i>munsariḥ</i>
									מָס	תָּפֵע	לֹן	פֹּא	עֵלֹא	תֹן		<i>ḥafif</i>
									מָפֹא	עֵי	לֹן	פֹּאֵע	לֹא	תֹן	מָפֹא	<i>muḏāri^c</i>
									מָפ	עֹ	לֹא	תָּ	מָס	תָּפ	עֵלֹן	<i>muqtaḏab</i>
									מָס	תָּפֵע	לֹן	פֹּא	עֵלֹא	תֹן	פֹּא	<i>muḡtat</i>
									פֹּאֵע	לֹא	תֹן	מָפֹא	עֵי	לֹן	מָפֹא	<i>muṭṭarid</i>

5.0. The Fifth Circle

The last and fifth circle is *muttafaq*, or ‘agreed’, so called because it is made up of the same foot repeated eight times. The only classical metre it includes is *mutaqārib* (פֵּעֵלֹן × 4 in each hemistich). Some manuals add the *mutadārak* metre (פֹּאֵעֵלֹן × 4 in each hemistich), the one added by Alḥalil’s follower Alahfaš Alawsat, when it is included together with the ḥalilian metres:

	W	S	W	
		לֹן	פֵּעֹ	<i>mutaqārib</i>
	עֵלֹן	פֹּא		<i>mutadārak</i>

6.0. The Derivative Metres

Of the new variants (*muhmal*), the classical Hebrew poets (10th–12th centuries) had a preference—almost a passion—for two of them. The first of these was *mutadārak* (פֹּאֵעֵלֹן × 4 in each hemistich), the first new metre formulated based on the classical catalogue. However, they often employed it in its modified form

(פּאָעל × 4 in each hemistich). This metre is quite common in Hebrew, where it is traditionally known as *mišqal hatēnu‘ot*; it is also used in Arabic, where it is known as *daff annafūs* or *fiṭr almizāb*.

The second metre widely used in Hebrew—the metre used in the first known Hebrew compositions, in fact—is *mustaṭīl* (מפּאָעילן פּעולן), both in its complete form and modified with *taš‘it* (מפּאָעילן פּאָעל).

7.0. *Mutadārak*

פּאָעלן פּאָעלן פּאָעלן פּאָעלן פּאָעלן פּאָעלן פּאָעלן פּאָעלן

This metre has four classes of *ḏarb* and two classes of ‘*arūd*.

7.1. First *Ḍarb*

The first *ḏarb* is complete, with an identical ‘*arūd*:

פּאָעלן פּאָעלן פּאָעלן פּאָעלן פּאָעלן פּאָעלן פּאָעלן פּאָעלן

However, the use of the first *ḏarb* in its complete form is rare. Usually, when this type of verse appears in Hebrew, it has all its feet modified with *qat‘* (פּאָעל → פּאָעלן), producing a sequence known in the Hebrew language as *mišqal hatēnu‘ot*—although the original foot may make an appearance (Sáenz-Badillos and Targarona 1998, 215.1):

פּאָעלן פּאָעלן פּאָעלן פּאָעלן פּאָעלן פּאָעלן פּאָעלן פּאָעלן
 שְׂמֵחָה בּוֹאֵי תּוֹנָה צִיֵּאִי וְשֹׂאֵן לְבִי מִנִּי הַשֶּׁעַ
 שְׂמֵחָה בּוֹאֵי תּוֹנָה צִיֵּאִי וְשֹׂאֵן לְבָבִי מִנְּנִי הָאִשָּׁעַ

‘Joy, come; sadness, go away / and anguish of my heart,
 move away from me.’ (Samuel ibn Nagrela Hanagid)

7.2. Second *Ḍarb*

The second *Ḍarb*, found in *mağzū'* verse, is complete, with identical 'arūd:

פאעלן פאעלן פאעלן פאעלן פאעלן פאעלן פאעלן פאעלן

7.3. Third *Ḍarb*

The third *Ḍarb*, found in *mağzū'* verse, is modified with *ḥabn* and *tarfil* (פאעלן → פעלן → פעלאַתן), and its 'arūd is complete:

פאעלן פאעלן פאעלן פאעלן פאעלן פעלאַתן פעלאַתן

The third *Ḍarb* may appear in *tasrī'* rhythm:

פאעלן פאעלן פעלאַתן פאעלן פאעלן פעלאַתן

7.4. Fourth *Ḍarb*

The fourth *Ḍarb* is modified with *tadyīl* (פאעלן → פאעלאַן), and its 'arūd is complete. The rhyme must be preceded by a lengthening letter (*ridf*):

פאעלן פאעלן פאעלן פאעלן פאעלן פאעלאַן פאעלאַן

7.5. *Manhūk* Verse

Mutadārak metre can also be used in *manhūk* verse:

פאעלן פאעלן פאעלן פאעלן

This type of verse may appear with all its feet modified with *qaṭ'* (פאעלן → פאעל; Brody and Schirrmann 1974, 155):

פאעל פאעל פאעל פאעל
עֵינַי מְרַב בְּכִי פְהוּ

'My eyes have shut down from so much crying.' (Solomon ibn Gabirol)

It may also appear with its *ḍarb* and *‘arūḍ* both modified with *tadyīl* (פּאָעלֶן → פּאַעלאַן):

פּאַעלֶן פּאַעלאַן פּאַעלֶן פּאַעלאַן

7.6. Modifications to All the Feet

The *ḥabn* modification (פּאַעלֶן → פּעלֶן) may affect any of the feet. If it is applied to all the feet, this produces a metre known as *ḥabb*:

פּעלֶן פּעלֶן פּעלֶן פּעלֶן פּעלֶן פּעלֶן פּעלֶן פּעלֶן

It is quite common to apply this modification to the filling feet (Brody and Schirmann 1974, 62.5):

פּאַעלֶן פּאַעלֶן פּאַעלֶן פּאַעלֶן פּאַעלֶן פּאַעלֶן פּאַעלֶן פּאַעלֶן
אָם סָגַר אֶל שַׁעֲרֵי פְּלוּל שַׁעֲרֵי דְמַעָה לֹא נִנְעָלוּ

‘Although God closes the doors of prayer / the doors of tears are not sealed.’ (Solomon ibn Gabirol)

As mentioned above, the *qaṭ‘* modification (פּאַעלֶן → פּאַעל) may also be applied to all the feet, in which case, it produces a metre known in Arabic as *daff annafūs* or *fiṭr almizāb*, also called *muḥḍaṭ*, *muḥṭara‘*, *qarīb mutadārif*, or *šaḳīq*:

פּאַעלֶן פּאַעלֶן פּאַעלֶן פּאַעלֶן פּאַעלֶן פּאַעלֶן פּאַעלֶן פּאַעלֶן

This modified foot does not have to repeat throughout the verse; it may instead alternate with פּעלֶן, which is common. Alternatively, it may appear with the first foot of each hemistich modified with *ḥazm* (פּאַעל → פּעלֶן; Jarden 1992, 81.1):

פּעלֶן פּאַעלֶן פּאַעלֶן פּאַעלֶן פּעלֶן פּאַעלֶן פּאַעלֶן פּאַעלֶן
בְּיַד אֵל אַתָּה אָנָּה תִּפְּנֶה וְאַיִן לָךְ לִבְרוּחַ מַדִּינִי

‘In the hands of God you are, wherever you go / you cannot flee from His decrees.’ (Samuel ibn Nagrela Hanagid)

8.0. *Mustatīl*

מפאעילן פעולן מפאעילן פעולן מפאעילן פעולן מפאעילן פעולן

Some authors call this metre *wasīt*. In Hebrew, it is usually catalogued as a variety of *ṭawīl* (*arok*), and it is even called the metre of Dunaš (*mišqal Dunaš*). It is usually used in *musammaṭ* form in Hebrew. I have found it used on one occasion without internal rhymes, but in *mašṭūr* verse, with the second foot of every verse modified with *taš'īt* (Brody and Schirmann 1974, 31.1):

מפאעילן פאעל מפאעילן פאעל
 עזר נפשי אישי ונשאני על כף
 עזרנפשי אישי ונשאני על כף
 לפי כי את ללב כמו הכף לכף
 לפי כי את ללב כמו הכף לאכף

‘Help my soul, my love, and take me in Your palm
 Because You are to the heart what the spoon is to the
 hand.’ (Solomon ibn Gabirol)

9.0. *Muta'id*

פאעלאַתן פאעלאַתן פאעלאַתן פאעלאַתן פאעלאַתן פאעלאַתן פאעלאַתן פאעלאַתן פאעלאַתן פאעלאַתן

This metre is also known as *garīb*. I have found it with its *ḍarb* and ‘*arūd* modified with ‘*aql* (מפּעולן לן → מסתּפּע לן)—or perhaps *qaṭ*’, if the feet are understood as מסתּפּע לן—and using *ḥabn* (פּעלאַתן → פּאעלאַתן) in some filling feet (Sáenz-Badillos and Targarona 1998, 179):

פאעלאַתן פאעלאַתן פאעלאַתן פאעלאַתן פאעלאַתן	פאעלאַתן פאעלאַתן פאעלאַתן פאעלאַתן פאעלאַתן
חפשו היטב ודינום בשלמה	לא כמשפטי תדינון עלימו
חפשוהי טבדינום בשלמה	לאכמשפא טיתדינון עלימו

mutawafir or *mu'tamad* (→ *wāfir*)

פאעלאַתך פאעלאַתך פאעלאַתך פאעלאַתך פאעלאַתך פאעלאַתך

munsarid or *qarib*

מפאעילן מפאעילן פאעלאַתן מפאעילן מפאעילן פאעלאַתן

muttarid or *mušākil*

פאעלאַתן מפאעילן מפאעילן פאעלאַתן מפאעילן מפאעילן

dū bayit

פאעל מתפאעלן פעולן פאעל

salisa

פאעל פאעלאַתן מסתפעלן פעלאַתאן

4. RHYME

Although views on the subject differ amongst theoreticians, rhyme (*qifāya*) may be defined as the group of consonants and vowels that closes a verse. The rhyme begins with the first of the group of letters that is repeated at the end of the rhyming verses. This letter can occupy either of the following positions: between two quiescent letters, whether lengthening letters or not, like *he'* in וּמְצַהֵב, וְרַהֵב, וְיַהֵב, וְאֶהֵב, וְזַהֵב, and לְלֵהֵב (Brody and Schirmann 1974, 41), or *lamed* in בְּלִיכֶם, יַעֲלִיכֶם, וַעֲלִיכֶם, and שְׂאֲלִיכֶם (Sáenz-Badillos and Targarona 1998, 62); or at the end of the verse, being quiescent, like *het* in מְנוּחַ, לְנִדְחַ, לְבִרְחַ, and לְפִסְחַ (Brody 1935, 67).

1.0. The Components of Rhyme

Rhyme has two basic components: consonants and vowels.

1.1. Consonants

The consonants in a rhyme are as follows.

1.1.1. *Rawā*

This is the letter that ends the verse and repeats throughout the composition. It is used to define the composition and arrange the collection of poems (*dīwān*). It cannot be a lengthening letter (אוי"י) or a final *he'* (ה).

The rhyme in the following *qasida* (*rağaz* metre) is in *nun*, and it should be noted that the poem uses *muwaffā* form, since

the two hemistichs of the first verse also rhyme (Brody 1935, 143.1–3):

אִיכָה בְּתוֹחֲלֹתַי בְּעִירָם טָעֲנֹו	אִם אֶהְיֶה דוֹדִי בְּנַפְשִׁי צָעֲנֹו
מִיּוֹם לְיוֹם יִסְעוּ וְאֵד לֹא־יִחַנּוּ	שְׁבָרִי וְשִׁמְחָתִי וְחֶבְרַת אֶהְבִּי
וּבְיוֹם כָּאֵב עַל־הַדָּמִי יִשְׁעֲנֹו	צַר־לִי עָלַי חֲשָׁקִים בְּדַמְעָה יִבְטְחוּ

‘When the tents of my dearest are taken down along with
my soul / how is it that they load their mules with my
hope
My longing and joy with the company of my beloveds /
depart overnight with no intention of making camp
I suffer for those like me who prefer to weep silently /
and on a day of sorrow find support in silence.’ (Moses
ibn Ezra)

The rhyme in the following *qasida* is in consonantal *alef* and, again, the first verse is *muwaffā* (Brody 1894, I:1.1–3):

עַד כִּי בָדַד יוֹסֵף לְבָבוֹת גָּאוּ	לֹא מִתְמוֹל פִּיּוֹת שְׁחֹזַק נִמְלְאוּ
נִקְרְהָ בְּפִי נִקְרְוּ וְלֹא נִקְרְאוּ	בָּאוּ חֲרוּזִים לֹא קִרְאַם רְעִיוֹן
הַשִּׁיר אֲבָל שָׁמְעוּ שְׁמֶךָ וּבָאוּ	לֹא נִמְנְעוּ מִבֵּא בְּרֶסֶן מִשְׁקָלִי

‘Mouths did not fill with laughter before / until thanks to
you hearts swelled with pride
Rhymes appeared without being called by thought / they
emerged from my mouth without being invited just like
that
They did not resist entering the halter of the metre of the
/ poem, they simply heard your name and arrived.’ (Ju-
dah Halevi)

1.1.2. *Waṣl*

This is a lengthening letter that follows *rawā*, by which the vowel of *rawā* is lengthened. It can be a lengthening letter (או"י) or a final *he'* (ה).

Looking again at the example above whose *rawā* is *nun*, its *waṣl* is *waw*. The scansion of the rhyming words would be צָאעָנוּ, יַחֲנוּ, and יִשְׁאָעָנוּ (Brody 1935, 143.1–3):

אִיכָה בְּתוֹחֲלֹתַי בְּעִירָם טָעָנוּ	אִם אֶהְלִי דוּדֵי בְּנַפְשֵׁי צָעָנוּ
מִיּוֹם לְיוֹם יָסְעוּ וְאָדָּ לֹא־יַחֲנוּ	שִׁבְרֵי וְשִׁמְחֹתַי וְחִבְרַת אֶהְבִּי
וּבִיּוֹם בָּאָב עַל־הַדָּמִי יִשְׁעָנוּ	צַר־לִי עָלַי חֹשְׁקִים בְּדַמְעָה יִבְטָחוּ

1.1.3. *Hurūḡ*

This is a vocalised lengthening letter that follows a vocalised *he'* *waṣl*. In Hebrew, this is never reflected in writing, but must be counted in the scansion, in the pattern of פִּיהָ → פִּיָּהָ. The following *muwaffā* verse (*kāmil* metre) provides an example (Brody 1894, I:110.1):

יוֹנָה תִּקְנֶנּוּ עַל אֲמִירֶיהָ יִמַר לְבָבִי לְאֲמִירֶיהָ

‘The dove makes its nest in her treetops / my heart becomes bitter with her cooing.’ (Judah Halevi)

1.1.4. *Ridf*

This is a lengthening or weak letter that precedes *rawā*, for example, the *waw* that precedes *taw* in the following example (*tawīl* metre; Brody 1935, 234.1–2):

בְּשֵׁם אֵל אֲשֶׁר אָמַר וְהֵעִז לְאֲמִרוֹתָיו וְצוּהָ בְּלִי מוֹרָה וּמוֹרָה לְמִצּוֹתָיו
וּפְעַל וְעֵשָׂה כָּל אֲשֶׁר אֱוֹתָהּ נִפְשׁוּ וְהַחֵל בְּלִי עֶזֶר וְכֹלָה פְּעֻלוֹתָיו

‘In the name of God who spoke and His words are
 charged with power / He ordered without instructor and
 without opponent to His commandments
 He performed and did everything His soul saw fit / He
 began without help and He completed his actions.’ (Mo-
 ses ibn Ezra)

A *yod* can precede *reš*, as in the following example (*mutaqārib*
 metre; Brody and Schirmann 1974, 98.1–2):

כְּשֶׁמֶשׁ מְרוֹמַיִם הָכִי אֶת גְּבִירָה וְאִם אֶת בְּפִי כָל אֲנָשִׁים צְעִירָה
 וְעֵלִית וְרַחֵק מְקוֹמָךְ עָדִי כִי חֲשַׁבּוּד עָלַי רֹאשׁ שְׁחֻקִים צְפִירָה

‘Like the sun on high so are you lady / although in the
 mouth of all men you are small
 You rose and your place moved away until they began to
 think / that perching above the skies you were the morn-
 ing star.’ (Solomon ibn Gabirol)

1.1.5. *Taʿsīs*

This letter is always *alef*. There is a vocalised letter between it
 and *rawā*. In Hebrew this *alef* is not reflected in writing, but it is
 counted in the scansion. In the following example (*basīt* metre),
 כִּי־כִי is to be read as כְּאִי־כִי, i.e., פֶּאֶעֱלֶן (Sáenz-Badillos and Targa-
 rona 1998, 167.1):

אֲשׁוּט כְּהֶלֶד עָלַי גְּבַעַת לְבוֹנָה וְאֶד־ בֵּיק אֶת לְחַיִּי אֶלִי מְדַרְדֵּר הַלִּיכִי־כִי

‘I wander like a wayfarer around a hill of incense and I
 ho/ld my cheeks fast to the print of your steps.’ (Samuel
 ibn Nagrela Hanagid)

1.1.6. *Daḥīl*

This is a vocalised letter placed between *ta'sis* and *rawā*. In the previous example, it would be the *yod* vocalised with mobile *šewa* that occupies the position of *ayin* in the foot (כַּיִי → כְּיִי = פּאעֵלן).

1.1.7. Letters that Can Be *Rawā* or *Waṣl*

If the letter that precedes *alef* is not repeated in the different occurrences of the rhyme, *alef* is *rawā*. In this case the composition is called a *qasida maqṣūra*. An example of this was given above (Brody 1894, I:1.1–3):

עד כי בך יוסף לְבבות גָּאו	לא מתמול פִּיות שְׁחוק נמְלָאו
נקרה בפי נקרו וְלא נקראו	בָּאו חרוזים לא קראם רעיון
השיר אבֵּל שְׁמעו שְׁמדָּ ובָּאו	לא נמנעו מבא בְּרסן משְׁקֵלֵי

If, on the contrary, the preceding letter does repeat, then *alef* is *waṣl*, bearing in mind that in Hebrew, final *alef* and *he*' are identical. The following example (Sáenz-Badillos and Targarona 1998, 143) uses *ramal* metre:

כוס לְקציהו ואתה תִּתְקַצֶּה	הידידים ישְׁתִּיזוּ לְךָ מִקְצֶה
איש אֵמַר לוֹ קח לְךָ זָהוב וצֵא	סב שְׁתֵּה כְּהֵם וְאִם יָרִיב בְּךָ

'Friends drink to you to the bottom / of the glass and you leave half

Go drink like them and if someone reproaches you / tell him: take a dinar and get out of here.' (Samuel ibn Nagrela Hanagid)

The same rule applies to *yod* as to *alef*. However, in the case of *nisba* (a *yod* of relationship or attribution), if it is doubled, it is

rawā, but if it is not, it is *waṣl*. In the following *nutfa* (*wāfir* metre), it is *rawā* (Brody 1935, 85):

אָנוֹשׁ יִרְאֶה בְּעֵין לְבוֹ אֲמוּנָה בְּלִי יִלְדִיו וְהַשִּׁיג מֵאִוִּן
וּמִי יָדַע הַיִּשְׁכָּל אוֹ הַיִּסְכָּל וְאִם יַחֲיֶה וְאִם יָמוּת בְּחַיָּיו

‘The person who sees faith with all his heart / without his
ancestors will cede to his passions
And who knows if he is lucid or slow-witted / and if he
will live or die in life.’ (Moses ibn Ezra)

He’ is *rawā* if it is preceded by a quiescent letter. It is also *rawā* when it is dotted with *mappiq* and preceded by a vowel, as in this description of a candle (*kāmīl* metre; Brody 1935, 83):

חֹלֶת אֶהָבִים לְיָלָה בְּכַה תִּבְכֶּה וְדַמְעָתָה עָלַי לְחַיָּה
תִּשְׁחַק פְּנֵי הַיּוֹשְׁבִים לְרִנִּין אוֹתָם וְאֵשׁ יֹאכַל שְׂאֵר גּוּיָהּ
תִּתְחַל וְאִם יָגוּ אָנוֹשׁ רֹאשָׁה תִּעֲדֵר הִכִּי מִהֲחַלִּי חַיָּהּ

‘The lovesick one passes the night / crying and her tears
fall over her cheek
She smiles at those seated for their / enjoyment while the
fire consumes the rest of her body
She seems sick but if someone moves her head, / she
bears witness, as if she were cured of her sickness.’ (Mo-
ses ibn Ezra)

The *he’* of a feminine ending, when the previous letter is repeated in the different occurrences of the rhyme, is *waṣl*; only otherwise can it be *rawā*. I have only found it as *waṣl*.

Final *kaf* in the second person can only be *rawā* if it is preceded by a lengthening letter and the previous letter does not repeat in the different occurrences. I have only found it as *waṣl*, for example (*wāfir* metre; Brody 1894, III:67.1):

יוֹנָה אֵיךְ תִּדְמִי כִּי אֲזַבְתִּיךְ וְהִלֵּא אֶהָבֶת עוֹלָם אֶהָבְתִּיךְ

‘Dove, how can you think that I am your enemy / if I love you with a love that is eternal.’ (Judah Halevi)

Weak and lengthening letters (אוי"ה) cannot be *rawā* unless they occur in the circumstances described above.

Masculine (ים) and feminine (ות) plural morphemes cannot be *rawā*, except when the preceding letter does not repeat.

1.2. Vowels

The vowels in a rhyme are as follows.

1.2.1. *Mağrā*

This is the vowel of *rawā*, for example, the *šureq* in צאענו and טאענו in the following *muwaffā* verse (*rağaz* metre; Brody 1935, 143.1):

אם אָהֶלִי דוֹדִי בְּנִפְשֵׁי צָעֲנוּ אֵיכָה בְּתוֹחֲלֹתַי בְּעִירָם טָעֲנוּ

1.2.2. *Naffād*

This is the vowel of a *he’ wašl* that follows *rawā*, like *qameš* in the following *muwaffā* verse (*kāmil* metre; Brody 1894, I:110.1):

יוֹנָה תִּקְנֶנּוּ עַל אַמְרֵיהָ יִמַר לְבָבִי לְאַמְרֵיהָ

1.2.3. *Ḥadw*

This is the vowel that precedes *ridf*, for example, the *ḥolem* that precedes *waw* in the following example (*ṭawīl* metre; Brody 1935, 234.1):

בְּשֵׁם אֵל אֲשֶׁר אָמַר וְהָעִז לְאִמְרוֹתָיו וְצוּה בְּלִי מוֹרָה וּמוֹרָה לְמִצּוֹתָיו

1.2.4. *Išbā*^c

This is the vowel of *daḥīl*, for example, the mobile *šəwa*³ of *yod* in the following example (*basīt* metre; Sáenz-Badillos and Targarona 1998, 167.1):

אָשׁוּט כְּהֶלֶד עָלֵי גִבְעַת לְבוּנָה וְאֶדְרֶ־ בֵּיק אֶת לְחַיֵּי אֲלֵי מְדַרְדֵּר הֶלִיכִיכִי

1.2.5. *Ras*

This is the vowel that precedes *alef ta'sis*. It is always /a/; in the previous example it is the *qameṣ* in הֶלִיכִיכִי.

1.2.6. *Tawǧīh*

This is the vowel that precedes *rawā* when it is quiescent, like the furtive *pataḥ* in נֹפֵחַ in the following example (Brody 1935, 64.1), which uses *kāmīl* metre with *taṣrī*^c rhythm:

אֲבָקַת בְּשָׂמִים מְעֻשָׂה רוֹקֵחַ אִוּ מְפָאֵת אָח מֶר דְּרוֹר נֹפֵחַ

‘Is the perfumed dust the work of a druggist / or are
myrrh grains being exhaled by the lip of the brazier?’
(Moses ibn Ezra)

2.0. Types of Rhyme

There are two types of rhyme: *muṭlaqa*, with vocalised *rawā*, and *muqayyada*, with quiescent *rawā*. Both types have recognised variants.

2.1. Variants of *Muṭlaqa*

muṭlaqa mu'asasa: *rawā* is vocalised and *alef ta'sis* repeats throughout the composition.

muṭṭalaqa mu'asasa followed by *he'*: *rawā* is vocalised and *alef ta'sis* repeats throughout the composition, which closes with *he'*.

muṭṭalaqa muradafa: *rawā* is vocalised and *ridf* repeats throughout the composition.

muṭṭalaqa muradafa followed by *he'*: *rawā* is vocalised and *ridf* repeats throughout the composition, which closes with *he'*.

muṭṭalaqa muḡarrada, or 'naked': *rawā* is vocalised and neither *ta'sis* nor *ridf* repeats throughout the composition.

2.2. Variants of *Muqayyada*

muqayyada mu'asasa: *rawā* is quiescent and *alef ta'sis* repeats throughout the composition.

muqayyada muradafa: *rawā* is quiescent and *ridf* repeats throughout the composition.

muqayyada muḡarrada, or 'naked': *rawā* is quiescent and neither *ta'sis* nor *ridf* repeats throughout the composition.

3.0. Defects in the Rhymes

The following defects may affect the rhymes:

ikfā': *rawā* is replaced by a consonant with the same articulation point.

iḡāza: *rawā* is replaced by a corresponding consonant in the alphabet.

iqwā': a *rawā* vowel (*maḡrā*) that alternates between /u/ and /i/ in the same *qasida* is changed.

iṣrāf: a *rawā* vowel (*mağrā*) that alternates between /a/ and /u/ in the same *qasida* is changed.

itāʿ: the word that carries the rhyme is repeated, retaining its form and meaning, throughout the *qasida*.

taḍmīn: the rhyme connects syntactically with the first stich of the following verse. It is considered bad practice if the rhyme does not finish a phrase, but as long as the phrase is complete upon completion of the rhyme, it is permitted for the sentence to continue into the following verse.

sinād: rhyme defect due to vowel alternation, several types of which are recognised:

sinād arridf: one verse has lengthening before the rhyme (*ridf*) and the following one does not.

sinād attaʿsīs: one verse has *alef taʿsīs* and the following one does not.

sinād ališbāʿ: the vowel of the consonant *daḥīl* changes throughout the composition.

sinād alḥaḍw: the vowel that precedes *ridf* changes; the change can be between /a/ and /i/ or between /a/ and /u/.

sinād attawğīh: vocalisation of quiescent *rawā* (*muqayyada*).

taḥrīd: in one part of the *qasida*, one *ḍarb* is used, and in another part, a different *ḍarb* from the same metre.

iqʿād: in one part of the *qasida*, one *ʿarūḍ* is used, and in another part, a different *ʿarūḍ* from the same metre. This phenomenon only occurs in the *kāmīl* metre.

5. STROPHIC POETRY

1.0. *Musammaṭ*

In the *ṭawīl* and *mutaqārib* metres, the use of *muṣammaṭ* form is fairly common. However, of all the metres, the one most preferred by the Hebrew poets for inlaid internal caesuras was *muṣ-ṭaṭīl*. In fact, the first known compositions use this formula, but modified with *tašʿūt*, and this sequence first used by Dunaš ben Labraṭ was imitated by the four great poets of the Golden Age (Sáenz-Badillos 1982, 1):

מִפְּאֵעִילָן פֶּאֶעֶל מִפְּאֵעִילָן פֶּאֶעֶל מִפְּאֵעִילָן פֶּאֶעֶל מִפְּאֵעִילָן פֶּאֶעֶל
דְּעָה לְבִי חֻכְמָה וּבִינָה וּמְזֻמָּה נִצַּר דְּרָכֵי עֲרָמָה שְׁמַע הַמוֹסָרִים
דְּעָאֲלֵבְבֵי חֻכְמָה וּבִינָהוּמָ זְמָמָה נִצַּר דְּרָכֵי עֲרָמָה שְׁמַעְהֶמָמוּ סָאֲרָם

‘Know, my heart, wisdom, / intelligence and reason, /
watch over the pathways of prudence / listen to instruc-
tion.’ (Dunaš ben Labraṭ)

Still, this sequence can recover the complete forms of its feet when the poet considers it necessary (Brody 1935, 56.1):

מִפְּאֵעִיל פְּעוּלָן מִפְּאֵעִילָן פְּעוּלָן מִפְּאֵעִילָן פֶּאֶעֶל מִפְּאֵעִיל פְּעוּלָן
תְּהִלַּת מְאֻמְרִים תְּהִלּוֹת וּזְמִירִים לְיוֹצֵר הַיְצוּרִים וּמִבֵּין מַעֲשֵׂיהֶם
תְּהִלְלַתְּמָ אֲמָרָם תְּהִלְלָתוֹ מִרָם לְיוֹצְרָהָ יְצוּרָם וּמִיבְנֵם עֲשִׂיהֶם

‘The book begins / prayers and canticles / to the Creator
of creatures / and Whoever understands their acts.’ (Mo-
ses ibn Ezra)

It is not difficult to find cases of *musammat mutallat* that use this modified sequence (Brody 1935, 161.1):

מפאעילן פאעל	מפאעילן פאעל	מפאעילן פאעל
זמן יקרא עדין	ראות מעשי ידיו	אשר המה עשים
זמניקרא עידו	ראתמעשי יאדו	אשרהממה עושם

‘Time will convene its witnesses / to see the acts of their hands / what they have committed.’ (Moses ibn Ezra)

The following composition (Brody 1935, 223.1–2) is an example of *musammat murabba*^c in *mutaqārib* metre (*aaaa, bbba*, etc.):

פעולן פעולן	פעול פעולן	פעולן פעולן	פעולן פעולן
בברק לטושים	מתיר רעיונים	בחיק האמונים	אליכם אמונים
בבארק לטושם	מתיר עיונים	בחקהא אמונם	אליכם אמונם
פעולן פעולן	פעול פעולן	פעולן פעולן	פעולן פעולן
לכל אור מבישים	מפיצים תהלות	ואדני תהלות	אדוני קהלות
לכלאר מבישם	מפיצם תהלת	ואדני תהלת	אדוני קהלת

‘To you, raised / in the bosom of the faithful, / people of ideas, / sharp like a bolt
Lords of the aljamas / pedestals of praise / radiating splendours / that shame any light.’ (Moses ibn Ezra)

The use of *musammat* form in practice can go slightly beyond the classical rules, with the poet applying *ḥarm* in either foot of a hemistich, rather than exclusively in the first foot, as the classical system prescribes. This is perhaps due to the influence of the caesuras, which seem to have broken the verse up into independent segments that ended up becoming strophes of *muwaššah*. In the following example (Mirsky 1961, 72.1), this freer use of *ḥarm* is something that the poet practises in the first segment and repeats

throughout the composition (*mušammaṭ murabba*‘ in *ṭawīl* metre: *bbba, ccca*, etc.):

פּאָעל מִפְּעוּלֹן	פּעוּלֹן מִפּאָעִילֹן	פּעוּלֹן מִפּאָעִילֹן	פּאָעל מִפְּעוּלֹן
אַרְךָ גְּלוּתִי	וְהִנְנִי אֵילוּתִי	בְּעַנְיִי וְדִלוּתִי	אַרְךָ גְּלוּתִי
אַאֲרַךְ גְּאֵלוּתִי	וְהִנְנִי אֵילוּתִי	בְּעַנְיִי וְדִלְלוּתִי	אַאֲרַךְ גְּאֵלוּתִי

‘My exile has become prolonged / with my poverty and misery / but here I am, my strength / to you I reveal my complaint.’ (Isaac ben Khalfun)

Thus, the poet goes on to use the *ḥarm* modification whenever he deems it necessary, in any position, including in the former ‘*arūd* (Mirsky 1961, 72.5):

פּעוּלֹן מִפּאָעִילֹן	פּעוּלֹן מִפּאָעִילֹן	פּעוּלֹן מִפְּעוּלֹן	פּעוּלֹן מִפּאָעִילֹן
וּבִשְׁתִּי בְּתוֹכְחָתִי	וְכַמֶּת נִשְׁכַּחְתִּי	בְּעַזְבִּי לְמִשְׁפַּחְתִּי	וְאַחִי וּבֵית אָבִי
וּבִשְׁתִּי בְּתוֹכְחָתִי	וְכַמֶּת נִשְׁכַּחְתִּי	בְּעַזְבִּי לְמִשְׁפַּחְתִּי	וְאַחִי וּבֵתְאָאָבִי

‘My shame goes in my punishment / like death I have been forgotten / upon abandoning my family / my brothers and the house of my father.’ (Isaac ben Khalfun)

The following composition, in *mutaqārib* metre (Brody 1894, II:176), repeats the same kind of technique as found in the previous example. The use of modifications is free: for instance, the *talm* modification (*ziḥāf*) is applied not only to the filling feet (*ḥašw*), as is usual in *mutaqārib* metre, but also to the *ḍarb* and ‘*arūd*. *Ḥazm*—a modification not typically used in *mutaqārib* metre—is also freely applied at the beginning of the second verse to a filling foot that has been affected by *ḥadf*, a modification characteristic of the ‘*arūd* and *ḍarb* (‘*ilāl*):

פּאָעל פּאָעל	פּעוּלֹן פּעוּלֹן	פּאָעל פּעוּלֹן	פּאָעל פּעוּלֹן
וְיַעַץ וּמְקִים	בְּמִרוֹם שְׁחָקִים	וְעַל יָם רְחוֹקִים	צְדָקוֹ סָרַח

יִזְעַזְעַ וּמִיָּקָם	בְּמָרָם שְׁחָאָקָם	וְעַלְיָם רְחֹקָם	צְדָקוֹ סָאָרְחָ
פִּאֲעֵלָן פִּאֲעֵל	פִּעוּלָן פִּעוּלָן	פִּאֲעֵל פִּאֲעֵל	פִּעוּלָן פִּאֲעֵל
לֹא לְאִישׁ דְּרָכּוֹ	וְאִם אֵין בְּמַלְכוֹ	שְׁקָר נִסְכּוֹ	וְלְרִיק יִטְרַח
לֹא לְאִשׁ דְּרָכּוֹ	וְאִמְאָן בְּמַלְכוֹ	שְׁאָקָר נִסְכּוֹ	וְלֹאֲרָק יִטְרַח

‘Whoever decides and executes / is in the highest Heavens / and over the faraway sea / His justice shines
Man is not the master of his route / rather it is by His rules / his molten image is a lie / and he endeavours in vain.’ (Judah Halevi)

2.0. *Muwaššah*

2.1. Samuel ibn Nagrela (Cordoba 993–Granada 1056)

The following *muwaššah* (Sáenz-Badillos and Targarona 1998, 202), with prelude (*tāmm*), has six verses of five segments, i.e., *muḥammas* form. The segments consist of three *aḡṣān* and two *asmāt*, each of one stich (*mušattar*), without internal rhymes (*sādiḡ*). The poem’s *ḥarḡa* is in Arabic.

The poem uses *madīd* metre (*muḡarrad*) in *manhūk* verse, the *ḍarb* being modified with *ḥadf* (פִּאֲעֵלָתָן → פִּאֲעֵלָן). According to the classical rules, in *manhūk* verse, *ḥadf* can also be applied to the same foot a second time (פִּאֲעֵלָן → פִּעֵלָן), which is, moreover, the model proposed by the *ḥarḡa*. The filling foot can be modified with *ḥabn* (פִּאֲעֵלָתָן → פִּעֵלָתָן).

The poem’s metrical structure is as follows: *ḥašw ḍarb*, i.e., פִּאֲעֵלָתָן פִּאֲעֵלָן. I follow Corriente’s reading (1997, 197).

פִּאֲעֵלָתָן פִּאֲעֵלָן / פִּאֲעֵלָתָן פִּאֲעֵלָן
אִשׁ אֶהְבִּים נִשְׁקָה / בִּי וְאִיד אֶתְאֲפִקָה
אִשְׁאֶהֱאֵבִם נִשְׁקָה / בִּינְאֶכְאֵת אֶפֶּקָה

פּאעלאַתן פּעלן / פּאעלאַתן פּאעלן / פּאעלאַתן פּאעלן | פּאעלאַתן פּאעלן /
פּאעלאַתן פּאעלן

צַמַתַנִי אֶהְבֵּה / כִּי לִיְדֵי אֶרְבֶּה / נִפְלָה כַּנְּפֵל שָׁבָא | בְּחַרִי אִף דְּלֶקָה / אֵת לִבִּי
בְּתֶקָה

פּאעלאַתן פּאעלן / פּאעלאַתן פּעלן / פּאעלאַתן פּאעלן | פּאעלאַתן פּאעלן /
פּאעלאַתן פּאעלן

יוֹם דְּמַעֵי נִגְרוּ / סוּד לִבִּי הֶעֱרוּ / מֵה לְדוּדֵי תֹאמְרוּ | אִין בְּדַמְעָה צְדָקָה / לִי בְּמָה
אַצְטַדְקָה

פּאעלאַתן פּאעלן / פּאעלאַתן פּאעלן / פּאעלאַתן פּאעלן | פּאעלאַתן פּעלן /
פּעלאַתן פּאעלן

דַּבְּרוּ לוֹ עַל שְׁמִי / אֵת אֶרְשֶׁת נַאֲמִי / אֵל דְּמִי לְדֵ אֵל דְּמִי | מְדוּוּה לֵב רַחֲקָה /
אַחֲוָה שְׁנִתְקָה

פּעלאַתן פּעלן / פּאעלאַתן פּעלן / פּאעלאַתן פּאעלן | פּעלאַתן פּאעלן / פּאעלאַתן
פּאעלן

נִחְמוּנֵי נַחְמוּ / כִּי קִרְבֵי יִהְמוּ / עַל פְּאַבִּים עַצְמוּ | וְשִׁנְתִי רַחֲקָה / נִדְדָה גַם עֲתִקָה
פּאעלאַתן פּאעלן / פּאעלאַתן פּאעלן / פּאעלאַתן פּאעלן | פּעלאַתן פּאעלן / פּעלאַתן
פּאעלן

הַלְבַּבוֹת נִתְקוּ / יִזְעֻקוּ יִתְחַבְּקוּ / וְלִבִּי דְחָקוּ | לְחַבֵּק נִתְחַבְּקָה / נִדְבְּקָה נִתְנַשְׁקָה
פּאעלאַתן פּעלן / [...] / פּאעלאַתן פּעלן || פּאעלאַתן פּעלן / פּאעלאַתן פּעלן / פּאעלאַתן פּעלן

שִׁיר אֶהוּבֵי מַעֲנָה / [...] / שִׁיר יְדִידוֹת תַּעֲנָה || עֲאִשְׁקִין אַעֲתַנְקָא / רַב לֹא
תַּפְתַּרְקָא

‘The fire of passion has been lit / in me, how can I contain myself?

I am consumed by a love / that ensconced itself by my side / it attacked me like the Sabaeans | it ignited fervently / and rent my heart.

My tears, upon spilling one day, / revealed the secret of my heart. / What will you say to the beloved? | There is no reason for my tears / how can I prove my innocence?

Tell them in my name / my pleading words: / Give yourself no rest, no! | Give a heart that suffers apart / the friendship that has broken!

Console me, console me, / my bowels groan, / from intense pains | sleep has left me / it has escaped, it has gone.

Broken hearts / call out, they embrace, / they urge my heart | to embrace: let us embrace, / let us join together, let us kiss each other!

A song, my beloved, sings / [... ...] / with a love song he responds: | LOVERS, EMBRACE EACH OTHER, / MY GOD, DO NOT SEPARATE.'

2.2. Solomon ibn Gabirol (Malaga 1021–Valencia 1058)

The following *muwaššah* (Jarden 1975, 24), with prelude (*tāmm*), has five verses of four segments, i.e., *murabba'* form. The segments are three *aḡṣān* and one *simt*, each of two stichs (*muzdawwiḡ*), with internal rhymes (*muraṣṣa'*), in both the *ḍarb* of the rounds (*dawr*) and that of the refrains (*qufl*). The poem's *ḥarḡa* is in Arabic.

The poem uses *basīṭ* metre (*muḡarrad*) in *manhūk* verse, with two types of *ḍarb*, both modified with *qaṭ'* (פּאָעל → פּאָעל and מִסְתַּפְּעֵלִין → מִפְּעוּלִין). The filling foot (מִסְתַּפְּעֵלִין) does not undergo any modifications throughout the composition.

The poem's metrical structure is as follows: *ḍarb ḍarb / ḥašw ḍarb ḍarb*, i.e., מִפְּעוּלִין פּאָעל / מִסְתַּפְּעֵלִין פּאָעל. I follow Corriente's reading (1997, 176).

מִפְּעוּלִין פּאָעל / מִסְתַּפְּעֵלִין פּאָעל מִפְּעוּלִין
 מֵה לָךְ תִּלְדֵּךְ מֵר / דּוֹדֵי וְעַמִּי יִזַּן חֶמֶר
 מִלְלָכְתִּי לְכֶמֶר / דּוֹדֵינָעַם מִיָּא יִנְחָאמֵר

מִפְּעוּלָן פֹּאעַל מְסַתְפַּעְלָן פֹּאעַל מִפְּעוּלָן
 יְתִהפֶד עֵינוּ בְּכּוֹס אֵלֵי שְׂבָעָה עֵינַיִם
 מִפְּעוּלָן פֹּאעַל מְסַתְפַּעְלָן פֹּאעַל מִפְּעוּלָן
 חָלַשׁ דְּמִיּוֹנוּ כְּכַפִּיר בְּבוֹאוֹ תוֹדָה מַעֲיִם
 מִפְּעוּלָן פֹּאעַל מְסַתְפַּעְלָן פֹּאעַל מִפְּעוּלָן
 גִּלְעָג וּבְעֵינוּ יִלְעָג לְחֶרְטָמִי מִצְרַיִם
 מִפְּעוּלָן פֹּאעַל / מְסַתְפַּעְלָן פֹּאעַל מִפְּעוּלָן
 כְּלִיז לֹא הוֹמַר / עַל כֵּן צְבִי רִיחוֹ לֹא נִמַּר
 מִפְּעוּלָן פֹּאעַל מְסַתְפַּעְלָן פֹּאעַל מִפְּעוּלָן
 יַעוֹר מִחֲבִיזוֹן כְּדוֹ וְלֵהֵב מְשׁוֹשׁ יַעִיר
 מִפְּעוּלָן פֹּאעַל מְסַתְפַּעְלָן פֹּאעַל מִפְּעוּלָן
 נִפְשֵׁי לוֹ פְּדִיּוֹן מִיְקוּד יִגּוֹנִים מִלֵּב יִבְעִיר
 מִפְּעוּלָן פֹּאעַל מְסַתְפַּעְלָן פֹּאעַל מִפְּעוּלָן
 יַעֲזוּ לֵב אֲבִיּוֹן אַחַר שְׁתוֹתוֹ מְלוֹכֵד עִיר
 מִפְּעוּלָן פֹּאעַל / מְסַתְפַּעְלָן פֹּאעַל מִפְּעוּלָן
 אֵד בּוֹ תִתִּימַר / כֹּל עוֹד אֱלֹהִים רוּחֶד שְׁמַר
 מִפְּעוּלָן פֹּאעַל מְסַתְפַּעְלָן פֹּאעַל מִפְּעוּלָן
 בִּימֵי שָׁר אוֹתוֹ בְּחֶר אֱלֹהִים מִכָּל עַמִּים
 מִפְּעוּלָן פֹּאעַל מְסַתְפַּעְלָן פֹּאעַל מִפְּעוּלָן
 תֵּאוֹר מְשָׁרְתוֹ שְׂבָעָה כְּאוֹר שְׂבַעַת הַיָּמִים
 מִפְּעוּלָן פֹּאעַל מְסַתְפַּעְלָן פֹּאעַל מִפְּעוּלָן
 הַבְּדִיל אֵל בֵּיתוֹ לְהִיּוֹת לְפָנָיו בֵּית עוֹלָמִים
 מִפְּעוּלָן פֹּאעַל / מְסַתְפַּעְלָן פֹּאעַל מִפְּעוּלָן
 חֶסֶד אִם אָמַר / חֶסֶד מִהֶרָה אָמַר גָּמַר
 מִפְּעוּלָן פֹּאעַל מְסַתְפַּעְלָן פֹּאעַל מִפְּעוּלָן
 הוּא יִצְחָק הַשָּׁר אֲגִן אֲשֶׁר מִזֶּג לֹא יִחְסַר

מִפְּעוּלֹן פֹּאעֵל מְסַתְּפֵעֵלֹן פֹּאעֵל מִפְּעוּלֹן
 אֲדָ מְזוּג מוּסֵר הַשְּׂכָל לְחַיִּית בּוֹ כֹּל בְּשָׂר
 מִפְּעוּלֹן פֹּאעֵל מְסַתְּפֵעֵלֹן פֹּאעֵל מִפְּעוּלֹן
 הֵהוּא שְׁנַמְסֵר לְאֵל לְבַדּוֹ לְהַיּוֹת טַפְסֵר
 מִפְּעוּלֹן פֹּאעֵל / מְסַתְּפֵעֵלֹן פֹּאעֵל מִפְּעוּלֹן
 וּבְחֻרְבוֹ זָמַר / כֹּל יָד עָלֵי עַמּוֹ יִתְאַמֵּר
 מִפְּעוּלֹן פֹּאעֵל מְסַתְּפֵעֵלֹן פֹּאעֵל מִפְּעוּלֹן
 הָאֶרֶץ בְּלֵם נִגְדָּו בְּקוֹל רָנָה יִצְהָלוּ
 מִפְּעוּלֹן פֹּאעֵל מְסַתְּפֵעֵלֹן פֹּאעֵל מִפְּעוּלֹן
 וּנְזִירֵי עוֹלָם מְגִיל נְזִירוֹתָם יִגְעֵלוּ
 מִפְּעוּלֹן פֹּאעֵל מְסַתְּפֵעֵלֹן פֹּאעֵל מִפְּעוּלֹן
 וּכְסָבָאִים קוֹלָם יִשְׂאוּ וְעַל שִׁכְרֵי יִשְׂאֵלוּ
 מִפְּעוּלֹן פֹּאעֵל / מְסַתְּפֵעֵלֹן פֹּאעֵל מִפְּעוּלֹן
 סְכָרָאן יָא עֵיִאָר / וְאִין אֶלְטֵרִיק לִי דָאָר אֶלְכֵמָאָר

‘What affects you, that you walk in bitterness, / my be-
 loved, if I have red wine?

Its appearance changes in the glass in seven colours. / It
 looks weak, but it is like a lion cub when it enters your
 bowels. / It stutters, but with its colour it mocks the sages
 of Egypt. | It has not changed its cask, / hence, oh ga-
 zelle, its aroma has not grown weak.

When it is awakened from its hiding place from its jug, a
 joyful flame is stoked. / For it I would give my life as ran-
 som for the fire that enflames the sorrows of the heart. /
 The heart of the poor one, after having drunk it, becomes
 stronger than he who takes a city. | With it you will re-
 joice / while God preserves your spirit.

In the days of the prince, he was chosen by God from
 amongst all the peoples; / radiantly shines his reign seven
 times, like the light of the seven days. / God has distin-

guished his house so that it will be, before Him, an eternal abode. | He is compassionate, and if He says / that He will show mercy, He will promptly keep his word.
 He is Isaac, the prince, a jug in which wine is never wanting, / but it is a wine of prudent science so as to give life to all men. / Only he has been recruited by God to be the captain; | with his sword he sunders / all the haughty ones who have boasted of their people.
 The entire land before him, with a voice of joy, gladdens. / The forever consecrated, on account of joy annul their vows, / and like drunks, their voices rise, calling for wine: | DRUNKARD, HEY, YOU RASCAL / WHERE IS THE ROAD TO THE INNKEEPER'S HOUSE?'

2.3. Moses ibn Ḡiqatila (Cordoba c. 1000–Zaragoza c. 1060)

The following *muwaššah* (Brody 1936, 3), with prelude (*tāmm*), has four verses of four segments, i.e., *murabba'* form. The segments are three *aḡsān*, each of one stich (*muṣaṭṭar*), and one *qufl a'raḡ* (called 'lame' due to the loss of its filling foot), without internal rhymes (*sādiḡ*). The poem's *ḥarḡa* is in Hebrew.

The poem uses *kāmil* metre (*muḡarrad*) in *manhūk* verse, its *ḍarb* being modified with *ḥazl* and *tarfil* (מפתעלאתן). The *ḍarb* can alternatively appear modified with *waqṣ* and *tarfil* (מפאעלאתן), or with *iḍmār* and *tarfil* (מסתפעלאתן). The filling foot can be modified with *iḍmār* (מתפאעלן → מסתפעלן), and augmented with *ḥazl* and *tarfil* (מתפאעלן → פאעלאתן → מפתעלאתן), or with *iḍmār* and *tarfil* (מתפאעלן → מסתפעלן → מסתפעלאתן).

The poem's metrical structure is as follows: *ḥašw ḍarb* (+ *ḍarb* in refrains), i.e., מפתעלאתן / מתפאעלן מפתעלאתן.

מתפאעלן מסתפעלאטן / מסתפעלאטן
 מעשי אדני הדרושים / בקהל קדושים
 מעשיאד ניהדררושים / בקהלקדושים

מסתפעלאטן מפאעלאטן / מסתפעלאטן / מסתפעלאטן
 שפּרה ברוחו שמי שחקים / פראי יצוקים וצר חזקים / מבטח קצוות וים רחוקים
 מתפאעלן מסתפעלאטן / מסתפעלאטן
 רחמיו עלי כל הנפשים / כל יום חדשים

מסתפעלאטן מפאעלאטן / מסתפעלאטן / מסתפעלאטן
 האל גדל עז תמים תבונה / מאין דמות לו ולא תמונה / מחקר פלאיו והתבונה
 מסתפעלן מפתעלאטן / מסתפעלאטן
 חכמי חרשים מחרישים / ונבון לחשים

מסתפעלאטן מפאעלאטן / מסתפעלאטן / מסתפעלאטן
 הודו יתנה המון שרפים / כלם למאות ולא לפים / הנאמנים ולא חנפים
 מסתפעלן מפתעלאטן / מפתעלאטן
 כי לא יגעים באנשים / הנחלשים

מסתפעלאטן מפאעלאטן / מסתפעלאטן / מסתפעלאטן
 נגדם פרוגים ברום מרומים / לשמו מברכים בחיל ואימים / דבר מדבר אמת
 ותמים

מסתפעלן מפתעלאטן / מסתפעלאטן
 כי לא ללכתם באנושים / לקראת נחשים

'The works of God are sought / in the congregation of the
 holy.

With His puff he clears the Heavens, / like a burnished
 mirror and resistant rock, / hope of the remotest parts
 and far-off seas. | His compassion with all souls / is re-
 newed every day.

The Lord is stunningly strong, perfect knowledge, / with
 no parallel nor form, / unfathomable are His wonders

and qualities. | Master craftsmen are struck dumb / and the skilled charmers.

His Glory is sung by a multitude of Seraphim / all together, in the hundreds and thousands / unconditionally faithful | for they do not tire like humans, / who are weak.

Against them, the cherubim, raised on high / in His name forcefully and fearfully / only they proffer truth and integrity | WITHOUT BEHAVING LIKE PEOPLE, / WHO TURN TO SORCERESSES.’

2.4. Moses ibn Ezra (Granada c. 1055–Estella a. 1138)

The following *muwaššah* (Brody 1936, 249), with prelude (*tāmm*), has five verses of five segments, i.e., *muḥammas* form. The segments are three *aḡṣān* and two *asmāt*, each of one stich (*mušatṭar*), without internal rhymes (*sādiḡ*). The poem’s *ḥarḡa* is in Hebrew.

The poem uses *basīṭ* metre (*muḡarrad*) in *maḡzū*⁷ verse, its *darb* being modified with *ḥabn* (מְסַתְפֵּעֵלִין → מְפֵעֵלִין). The filling feet can be modified with *ṭayy* (מְסַתְפֵּעֵלִין → מְפֵתֵעֵלִין) and with *ḥabn* (פֵּאֵעֵלִין → פֵּעֵלִין). The poet plays with the reader in the prelude (תֵּאֲוֹת לְבָבִי) and at the beginning of the fourth strophe (כִּאֲשֶׁר לְבָבִי), confusing him with the scansion by forcing him to make the gutturals quiescent, so that the metre is not confused with *kāmil* (מְתֵפֵאֵעֵלִין). In the first *simṭ* of the second *qufl*, the guttural in מְעַנְנִי must also be quiescent to meet the demands of the metre.

The poem’s metrical structure is as follows: *ḥašw ḥašw darb*, i.e., מְסַתְפֵּעֵלִין פֵּאֵעֵלִין מְפֵעֵלִין.

מסתפעלו פאעלן מפעולן / מסתפעלו פאעלן מפעולן
 תאות לבבי ומחמד עיני / עפר לצדי וכוס בימיני
 תאות לבא ביומח מדעיני / עופר לצד דיוכס בימיני
 מסתפעלו פאעלן מפעולן / מסתפעלו פעולן מפעולן / מסתפעלו פאעלן מפעולן
 רבו מריבי ולא אשמעם / בוא הצבי ואני אכניעם / וזמן יכלם ומות ירעם
 מסתפעלו פאעלן מפעולן / מסתפעלו פאעלן מפעולן
 בוא הצבי קום והבריאתי / מצוף שפתך והשביעני
 מסתפעלו פאעלן מפעולן / מפתעולן פאעלן מפעולן / מסתפעלו פאעלן מפעולן
 למה יניאון לבבי למה / אם בעבור חטא ובגלל אשמה / אשגה בפיך אדני שמה
 מסתפעלו פאעלן מפעולן / מסתפעלו פאעלן מפעולן
 אל יט לבך בניב מענני / איש מעקשים ובוא נסני
 מסתפעלו פאעלן מפעולן / מסתפעלו פאעלן מפעולן / מסתפעלו פאעלן מפעולן
 נפתה וקמנו אלי בית אמו / ויט לעל סבלי את שכמו / לילה ויוזם אני רק עמו
 מסתפעלו פאעלן מפעולן / מסתפעלו פאעלן מפעולן
 אפשט בגדיו ופשיטני / אינק שפתיו ויניקני
 מסתפעלו פאעלן מפעולן / מסתפעלו פאעלן מפעולן / מסתפעלו פאעלן מפעולן
 פאשר לבבי בעיניו נפקד / גם על פשעי בידו נשקד / דרש תנאות ואפו פקד
 מסתפעלו פאעלן מפעולן / מסתפעלו פאעלן מפעולן
 צעק באף רב לך עזבני / אל תהדפני ואל תתעני
 מפתעולן פאעלן מפעולן / מסתפעלו פאעלן מפעולן / מסתפעלו פאעלן מפעולן
 אל תאנף בי צבי עד כלה / הפלא רצונך ידידי הפלא / ונשק ידיך וחפצו מלא
 מסתפעלו פאעלן מפעולן / מסתפעלו פעולן מפעולן
 אם יש בנפשך חיות חייני / או חפצך להרג הרגני

'The desire of my heart and my eyes / is a fawn by my
 side and a glass at my right hand.

Many are my censors, but I do not listen to them / come,
 oh roe! and I will crush them / Destiny consumes them,

death grazes on them! | Come, oh roe! Rise up and cure me / with the nectar of your lips, satiate me.

Why do they make my heart giddy, why? / If it is on account of sin and my fault, / I err due to your beauty, the Lord is there. | Heed not the words of my rebuker, / he is an obstinate one, come and try me!

He let himself be seduced, and we went to his mother's house, / he leaned his shoulder against the yoke of my burden; / night and day alone, I with him, | I relieved him of his clothing, and he undressed me; / I sucked his lips, and he sucked mine.

When my heart was snatched through his eyes, / he found the yoke of my fault cumbersome, / he devised rebukes, his wrath was inflamed, | he yelled enraged: that's enough, leave me! / Do not push me, do not mislead me! Do not consume me with your anger, oh roe!, / astonish me with your love, my friend, astonish me, / kiss your beloved and fulfil his wish: | IF YOU WANT TO GIVE LIFE, GIVE ME LIFE, / IF YOU WANT TO KILL, GIVE ME DEATH.'

2.5. Joseph ibn Saddik (Cordoba c. 1075–Zaragoza 1141)

The following *muwaššah* (David 1982, 1), with prelude (*tāmm*), has five verses of five segments, i.e., *muḥammas* form. The segments are three *aḡṣān* and two *asmāt*, each of two stichs (*muzdawīḡ*), with internal rhymes (*murašša*[◌]). The poem's *ḥarḡa* is in Arabic.

The poem uses *basīt* metre (*muḡarrad*) in *manhūk* verse, its *ḍarb* being modified with *qaṭ*[◌] (פֶּאֶעֱלָן → פֶּאֶעֱלָ). However, in the second *simṭ* of the last *qufl* before the *ḥarḡa*, it seems to have been modified with *ḥabn* (פֶּאֶעֱלָן → פֶּעֱלָן). The filling foot can be modified with *ṭayy* (מִסְתַּפְּעֵלָן → מִפְּתַעֲלָן). In the first segment of the

harǧa, the filling foot has been modified with *habn* (מסתפעלן → מפפעלן).

The poem's metrical structure is as follows: *hašw darb / hašw darb + hašw*, i.e., מסתפעלן פאעל / מסתפעלן פאעל. I follow Corriente's reading (1997, 206).

מסתפעלן פאעל / מסתפעלן פאעל / מסתפעלן פאעל / מסתפעלן פאעל / מסתפעלן פאעל

נומי אָהה נגזל / בָּרַח אָהה גוזל מאָהלי / דמעי אָהה יזל / עפרי אָהה אזל מי גואלי

נומיאָהה נגזל / באַרַחאָהה גוזל מיאָהלי / דמעיאָהה יזל / עפריאָהה אזל מיגואלי

מסתפעלן פאעל / מסתפעלן פאעל / מסתפעלן פאעל / מסתפעלן פאעל

נוגן שלח אָצבע / לעות חלילך טוב מענה

מסתפעלן פאעל / מסתפעלן פאעל / מסתפעלן פאעל / מסתפעלן פאעל

אלם אָבל יבע / צחות כְּקולך כן יענה

מסתפעלן פאעל / מסתפעלן פאעל / מסתפעלן פאעל / מסתפעלן פאעל

שָׁלַשׁ וְגַם אַרְבַּע / על פי נְבִילֶיךָ בְּשִׂמְלֵי מְנָה

מסתפעלן פאעל / מסתפעלן פאעל / מסתפעלן פאעל / מסתפעלן פאעל / מסתפעלן פאעל

פאעל מסתפעלן

שירים נצור על דל / שָׁפָה וְאֵל יְחַדֵּל מִפִּי כָּלִי / שִׁיר קוֹל אֲשֶׁר יִגְדֵל / עֵתִים וְעַתָּה

יִדֵּל לֹא מִחֲלִי

מסתפעלן פאעל / מסתפעלן פאעל / מסתפעלן פאעל / מסתפעלן פאעל

בו כל פֶּאָב נִכְחָד / בו יֵעֲבֵר זַעַם פִּי הוּא בְּרֵאשׁ

מסתפעלן פאעל / מסתפעלן פאעל / מסתפעלן פאעל / מסתפעלן פאעל

כָּל גֵּיל וְרוֹן יַחַד / אֲמַנְם נְדִיב הָעַם הֵיטִיב חֲרַשׁ

מסתפעלן פאעל / מסתפעלן פאעל / מסתפעלן פאעל / מסתפעלן פאעל

אוֹתוֹ דְמוֹת פַּחַד / דְּבַק אֵלֵי פַעַם גִּזְרַת בְּרוּשׁ

מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֶן פֹּאעַל / מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֶן פֹּאעַל / מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֶן פֹּאעַל / מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֶן פֹּאעַל /
 פֹּאעַל מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֶן
 גָּמוּל בְּחִיק יוֹבֵל / אָמַר הֵכִי יוֹבֵל הוּא פּוֹעֵלִי / יִפִּיק לְלֵב אָבֵל / עַל הַנְּדוּד סָבֵל
 מְשׁוֹשׁ וְלִי

מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֶן פֹּאעַל / מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֶן פֹּאעַל מִפְתַּעֲלוֹ
 קָרְבָּה וְאֵל תִּרְחַק / וּבְצֵל נוֹה עֵפֶר בּוֹא לְחִסּוֹת
 מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֶן פֹּאעַל / מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֶן פֹּאעַל מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֶן
 יָד נוֹפֶפֶה וְדַחַק / יֵתֵר בְּנִיב שְׁפָר הַפְּלֵא עֲשׂוֹת
 מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֶן פֹּאעַל / מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֶן פֹּאעַל מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֶן
 וּכְאֲצַבְעוֹת יִצְחָק / הֵשֶׁר בְּעֵט סוֹפֵר עֵת תּוֹפְשׁוֹת
 מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֶן פֹּאעַל / מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֶן פֹּאעַל מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֶן / מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֶן פֹּאעַל /
 פֹּאעַל מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֶן
 מֵה דָל וּמֵה נִדְגָל / עֵטוֹ כְּרוּץ גִּלְגֵּל רָץ עַל גְּלִי / לִי פֹז שָׂאֵב מִגֵּל / הוֹדוּ עֲדֵי יִגֵּל
 בְּשֵׂאֵב דְּלִי

מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֶן פֹּאעַל / מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֶן פֹּאעַל מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֶן
 הֵעֵט כַּחֲזֵן קִלְקֵל / פְּנִיּוֹ בְּפִיּוֹ יֶאֱטֵר פִּי מוֹשְׁלִים
 מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֶן פֹּאעַל / מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֶן פֹּאעַל מִפְתַּעֲלוֹ
 מִשִּׁים בְּכַף מִשְׁקָל / מִלִּין לְדַת מִשְׁטֵר בּוֹ נַעֲלִים
 מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֶן פֹּאעַל / מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֶן פֹּאעַל מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֶן
 רִכְבּוֹ כְּנֶשֶׁר קַל / לִקְחוּ כְּמוֹ מִטֵּר לְשׁוֹאֲלִים
 מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֶן פֹּאעַל / מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֶן פֹּאעַל מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֶן / מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֶן פֹּאעַל /
 פִּעֵלֶן מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֶן
 גָּבַה עֵדָה בְּגִלְל / כִּי כִלְלֵךְ מִכְּלֵל יִפִּי בְּלִי / דָּפִי וְתַתְּהַלֵּל / כִּי עַל גְּרוֹן מִהֲלֵל שְׂמֵךְ
 חֲלִי

מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֶן פֹּאעַל / מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֶן פֹּאעַל מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֶן
 בְּדָ חֲשִׁיקָה מִשְׁרָה / לְדָרֵךְ מְרוֹם רִכְבָּה בְּדָ אֹתָהּ
 מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֶן פֹּאעַל / מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֶן פֹּאעַל מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֶן
 חֲכָמָה יוֹסֵם תִּקְרָא / לָהּ כָּל צִפּוֹן לְבָהּ לְדָ גִלְתָּהּ

מפתעֵלן פּאעל / מִסְתַּפְעֵלֵן פּאעל / מִסְתַּפְעֵלֵן
 לֹא כַחֲשֵׁק עִפְרָה / יוֹם דוֹד יִדְבֵר בָּהּ שׁוּא עֲנִתָּהּ
 מִפּאעֵלן פּאעל / מִפּאעֵלן פּאעל / מִסְתַּפְעֵלֵן פּאעל / מִסְתַּפְעֵלֵן פּאעל
 מִסְתַּפְעֵלֵן
 חֲבִיבִי קֹד יִרְחֵל / וְעַד לֵם יִגְזֹל וְאִי צָבֵר לִי / לֹא בִד לִי אֵן אַחֲמֵל / אוֹ אִישׁ עֵסֵא
 יַעֲמֵל מִן קֹד בְּלִי

‘My sleep, Oh! was stolen from me. / The sparrow in my
 tent, Oh! flew away. / My tears, Oh! spill. / My fawn, Oh!
 disappeared. Who will save me?

Music, stretch your fingers out / so that your flute will
 rouse sweet harmony; / although silent, it will send out /
 clear sounds, as if it were your voice, it will sing. / Press
 (chords) of three and four (notes) / with your left hand
 on the mouth of your lyre. | Save the songs on your lips,
 / so that the sound does not cease from the mouth of the
 instrument / at times it intensifies / and other times it
 subsides, and not from weakness.

With it all pain is forgotten; / with it anger passes; it
 holds sway over / all joy and cheering. / No doubt a no-
 bleman from the town skilfully built / it, like a thigh / at-
 tached to the foot, with a cypress branch. | Like a baby at
 the breast, / it says: “Yes, Jubal is my maker”. / It glad-
 dens the mourning heart, / which groans under the yoke
 of exile, and me as well.

Come near and do not go away, / and in the shade of the
 abode of the fawn come protect yourself. / Move your
 hand and press the chords; / make beautiful melodies
 brilliantly, / like the fingers of the prince Isaac / who
 with the writing quill captures the moments. | How light
 and noble / is his quill! With the speed of a wheel it
 glides over golden fi/elds, it drinks from the fountain of /
 its splendour until it shines as the well drinks.

The quill, like a dart, sharpens its point; / with its mouth
it shuts the mouth of the powerful; / it places words on
the plate of the scale / that rise on it as bound by law. /
Its slide is light like that of an eagle; / its message is like
rain for those who clamour for it. | Adorn yourself with
greatness, / because you have crowned the pinnacle of
beauty without / an edit, and be proud, / because your
name is a jewel on a splendid throat.

Power singled you out / to set foot in the loftiness of his
chariot; for you he wished / wisdom, when you called /
for her, everything hidden in her heart was revealed to
you. / Not like the love of a gazelle who, / when the
lover spoke to her, responded in vain: | “MY BELOVED
LEAVES / WHEN HE HAS HARDLY SAT DOWN: WHAT PATIENCE AM
I GOING TO HAVE? / I MUST ENDURE SO MUCH, / BUT WHAT IS
THERE TO DO FOR A PERSON WHO HAS FALLEN IN LOVE”.’

2.6. Judah Halevi (Tudela c. 1075–Alexandria 1141)

The following *muwaššah* (Brody 1894, I:111), with prelude (*tāmm*), has five verses of five segments, i.e., *muḥammas* form. The segments are three *aḡṣān* and two *asmāt*, each of one stich (*mušattar*), without internal rhymes (*sādiḡ*). The poem’s *ḥarḡa* is in Romance.

The poem uses *basit* metre (*muḡarrad*) in *maḡzū*⁷ verse, its *darb* being modified with *qat*‘ (מסתפּעלן → מפּעלן). Both filling feet can be modified with *ḥabn* (מסתפּעלן → מפּאעלן and פּאעלן → פּעלן).

The poem’s metrical structure is as follows: *ḥašw ḥašw darb*, i.e., מפּעלן פּאעלן מסתפּעלן. I follow Corriente’s reading (1997, 283).

מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֹן פֹּאעֵלֹן מִפְּעוּלֹן / מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֹן פֹּאעֵלֹן מִפְּעוּלֹן
 שְׁלוֹם לְגֵבֶר שְׁשׁוּנְיוֹ הַגְּלוֹ / חֲדָלוּ מִנְחָמְיוֹ אָהָה חֲדָלוּ
 שְׁאַלְמִלְגָּא בְּרִשְׁשׁוֹ נִוְהַגְלוֹ / חֲדָלוּ מִנְחָמוֹ אָהָה חֲדָדְלוּ

מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֹן פֹּאעֵלֹן מִפְּעוּלֹן / מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֹן פֹּאעֵלֹן מִפְּעוּלֹן / מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֹן פֹּאעֵלֹן מִפְּעוּלֹן
 לְבִי כְתַנּוֹר לְפִרּוֹד יוֹסֵף / גַּם שֶׁד יְהוּדָה כְּבִדֵי שֶׁסֵּף / וּכְאֵב שְׁלִישׁ בְּאַבְלֵי יוֹסֵף
 מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֹן פֹּאעֵלֹן מִפְּעוּלֹן / מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֹן פֹּאעֵלֹן מִפְּעוּלֹן
 כִּי מִמָּרְרֵיו בְּנַפְשֵׁי נִתְלוֹ / קִירוֹת לְבָבִי כְמוֹהֶם חָלוּ

מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֹן פֹּאעֵלֹן מִפְּעוּלֹן / מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֹן פֹּאעֵלֹן מִפְּעוּלֹן / מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֹן פֹּאעֵלֹן מִפְּעוּלֹן
 נַפְשֵׁי פְדוּתֶךָ גְבִירֵי מִשָּׁה / כִּי גַם אֲנִי מִבְּכִי לֹא אֶחֱשֶׂה / עַד בֹּא תִלְאוֹת בְּחַזְיוֹן
 קֶשֶׁה

מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֹן פֹּאעֵלֹן מִפְּעוּלֹן / מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֹן פֹּאעֵלֹן מִפְּעוּלֹן
 לֹא בְּעָעוּ יוֹם כְּנֶשֶׁר קָלוּ / עַד כִּי בְנַפְשֵׁי יִדְיֶךָ כָּלוּ

מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֹן פֹּאעֵלֹן מִפְּעוּלֹן / מִפֹּאעֵלֹן פֹּאעֵלֹן מִפְּעוּלֹן / מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֹן פֹּאעֵלֹן מִפְּעוּלֹן
 חֲד נִוְאַשׁוּ הַלְּבָבוֹת מִנּוּ / וְחֲד בְּמִרְאֵה חֲלוֹם אֶרְאֶנּוּ / זֶה אֶזְכְּרֶנּוּ זֶה אֵינְנֵנוּ
 מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֹן פֹּאעֵלֹן מִפְּעוּלֹן / מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֹן פֹּאעֵלֹן מִפְּעוּלֹן
 עֵינֵי עַדֵי אֵן לְמָרוֹם דָּלוּ / אֵד בּוֹ אֱלֹהִים לְפָנַי נִגְלוּ

מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֹן פֹּאעֵלֹן מִפְּעוּלֹן / מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֹן פֹּאעֵלֹן מִפְּעוּלֹן / מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֹן פֹּאעֵלֹן מִפְּעוּלֹן
 הֵה אִישׁ חֲמִדוֹת בְּעַפְרֵי נְעָצֵר / אַחֲרַי אֲשֶׁר הַמְּאֹרוֹת עָצֵר / חֲדָלוּ חֲסָדִים כְּאֵלוּ
 אֶצֶר

מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֹן פֹּאעֵלֹן מִפְּעוּלֹן / מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֹן פֹּאעֵלֹן מִפְּעוּלֹן
 גֶּשֶׁם נְדָבוֹת וְלֹא נָזְלוּ / לְרִאוֹת מְאוֹרָיו וְלֹא יִהְיוּ

מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֹן פֹּאעֵלֹן מִפְּעוּלֹן / מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֹן פֹּאעֵלֹן מִפְּעוּלֹן / מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֹן פֹּאעֵלֹן מִפְּעוּלֹן
 שִׁיר אֶחַ מִפְּרֶד בְּלִבֵי כִירוֹד / יִשִּׁיר כְּעֵלְמָה לְבָבָה יְדוּד / כִּי מוֹעֵדָה בָּא וְלֹא בָּא
 הַדּוֹר

מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֹן פֹּאעֵלֹן מִפְּעוּלֹן / מִסְתַּפְּעֵלֹן פֹּאעֵלֹן מִפְּעוּלֹן
 בְּנִיד לְפֶשֶׁכָּה אֵיוֹן שְׁנֵאֵלוּ / כֹּס כְּנֶד מוֹ קְרוֹזוֹן פְּרֵאֵלוּ

‘Greetings to the man whose joy was exiled / there is no one to console him, Oh! there is not.

The departure of Joseph turned my heart in a furnace / but the dispossession of Judah runs through my bowels / and the pain of the third brother increases my sorrow | for their griefs hang from my soul, / my heart is pierced, just like theirs.

Moses, my lord, for you I would give my soul; / neither must I silence my cry / for in a harsh vision misfortune reached me: | when like an eagle it flew lightly, it did not back down / until it consumed my soul that loves you.

The first has already been renounced by the hearts, / the image of the second I only see in dreams; / one I remember and the other escapes me. | How high can my eyes lift up? / It is there that God reveals Himself to me.

Woe unto the beloved man buried in the dust, / he held amongst the celestial bodies! / Their favours ceased, as if they contained | generous rains, and stopped flowing / when they saw that his lights were not shining.

The song of the separated brother is in my heart, it calls; / it sings like the maiden whose heart is restless, / because it is ready, but her beloved is not coming: | PASSOVER IS BUT A FAST WITHOUT HIM / HOW MY HEART BURNS FOR HIM.’

3.0. *Mu‘āraḍa*

This literary device was common amongst the Andalusī Hebrew poets. One poet would dedicate or send a composition to another, and the recipient had to reproduce the metre and rhyme of the original composition in his response. In the case of a *muwašṣaḥ*, the entire metrical and rhythmic structure had to be imitated, using the same *ḥarḡa*.

The following examples are a pair of compositions that follow this technique. The first (David 1982, 8) is by Joseph ibn Saddik, and the second (Brody 1894, I:93) is the corresponding response by Judah Halevi, who took advantage of the opportunity to make technical improvements, and dedicated it to Moses ibn Ezra.

Both are examples of a bald *muwaššah* (*aqra*'), with five verses of six segments, i.e., *musaddas* form. The segments are four *aḡsān* and two *asmāt*. The rounds (*dawr*) have one stich (*mušattar*) and the refrains (*qufl*) have two (*muzdawīḡ*), in addition to being thoroughly inlaid (*murašša*') with all sorts of internal rhymes. The *ḥarḡa* is in Arabic.

The poems use *sarī*' metre (*muḡarrad*) in *tāmm* verse, the *ḍarb* being modified with *šalm* (מפועולאת → פאעל). The *'arūd* may be modified either with *ṭayy* and *kašf* (מפועולאת → מפאעלן), or with *ḥabl* and *kašf* (מפועולאת → פעלן), since, according to the classical rules, this type of *ḍarb* can accept either variant. The filling foot can be modified with *ḥabn* (מסתפעלן → מפאעלן) or with *ṭayy* (מסתפעלן → מפתעלן).

The poems' metrical structure is as follows: *ḥašw 'arūd ḍarb* in the rounds, i.e., פאעל פאעל פאעלן פאעל פאעל, and *ḥašw ḥašw ḥašw 'arūd ḍarb* in the refrains, i.e., מסתפעלן מסתפעלן פועלן פאעל. I follow Corriente's reading (1997, 157).

מסתפעלן פאעל פאעל / מסתפעלן פאעל פאעל / מסתפעלן פאעל פאעל /
 מסתפעלן פאעל פאעל
 ליל מחשבות לב אעירה / ונדד אהובים אנפירה / ארעד בחילי מבפירה / אולי
 פניהם אפירה

מְסַתְפַּעֵלְן / מְסַתְפַּעֵלְן / פֻּעַלְן פֻּאֵעַל
 עֵשׂ עִם כְּסִיל / וּבְרִיב כְּסִיל / לְנִבְיָא פְּסִיל / יַעֲרֹךְ נִגְדִי
 מְסַתְפַּעֵלְן / מְסַתְפַּעֵלְן / מְסַתְפַּעֵלְן / פֻּאֵעַלְן פֻּאֵעַל
 עֲצִבִי יָבַל / לְבִי וּבַל / נִרְפָּא אָבַל / רְפָאִי כְּדִי
 מְסַתְפַּעֵלְן פֻּאֵעַל פֻּאֵעַל / מְסַתְפַּעֵלְן פֻּאֵעַל פֻּאֵעַל / מְסַתְפַּעֵלְן פֻּאֵעַל פֻּאֵעַל /
 מְסַתְפַּעֵלְן פֻּאֵעַל פֻּאֵעַל
 הִבֵּה אֲכַבָּה אֵשׁ כְּסֶף / בִּי נִשְׁקָה בְּגִלְלִי יוֹסֵף / נִכְבְּד לְכָל מַחְמַד אִסְף / אֲדָר יִקָּר
 וּצְרוּר כְּסֶף
 מְפַתְעֵלְן / מְסַתְפַּעֵלְן / מְסַתְפַּעֵלְן / פֻּאֵעַלְן פֻּאֵעַל
 בּוּר בְּעִלְיִל / צְרוּף פְּלִיל / צֶדֶק כְּלִיל / פֶּל מְתִי חֻלְדִי
 מְפַתְעֵלְן / מְסַתְפַּעֵלְן / מְפַתְעֵלְן / פֻּאֵעַלְן פֻּאֵעַל
 יָד מַעֲלָל / אֲשָׂא שֶׁלֶל / רוֹן מַהֲלָל / לוֹ יָמֵי חֻלְדִי
 מְסַתְפַּעֵלְן פֻּאֵעַל פֻּאֵעַל / מְסַתְפַּעֵלְן פֻּאֵעַל פֻּאֵעַל / מְפַתְעֵלְן פֻּאֵעַל פֻּאֵעַל /
 מְסַתְפַּעֵלְן פֻּאֵעַל פֻּאֵעַל
 מֵאֵז אֲבוֹתָיו נִקְרָאוּ / רַבֵּי תְעוּדוֹת נִפְלְאוּ / שָׂאל כְּתוּבוֹת נִשְׂאוּ / הֵן עַל לְבָבו
 נִמְצְאוּ
 מְסַתְפַּעֵלְן / מְסַתְפַּעֵלְן / מְסַתְפַּעֵלְן / פֻּאֵעַלְן פֻּאֵעַל
 עֲפָר בְּגִיל / שְׁמֵשׁ כְּגִיל / דַּת בּוֹ אֲגִיל / הֵן וְהָד תַּעֲדִי
 מְסַתְפַּעֵלְן / מְסַתְפַּעֵלְן / מְסַתְפַּעֵלְן / פֻּאֵעַלְן פֻּאֵעַל
 מְטִים גָּאֵל / חֲפָצָד שָׂאֵל / אֲתָן וְאֵל / יִרְפָּד חֲסָדִי
 מְסַתְפַּעֵלְן פֻּאֵעַל פֻּאֵעַל / מְסַתְפַּעֵלְן פֻּאֵעַל פֻּאֵעַל / מְסַתְפַּעֵלְן פֻּאֵעַל פֻּאֵעַל /
 מְסַתְפַּעֵלְן פֻּאֵעַל פֻּאֵעַל
 טוֹב אֶהְלוּ מִגֵּן בֵּיתָן / וּזְמַן בְּיָמָיו כְּחָתָן / אֵל קוֹל בְּחוֹן עָלְיוֹ נָתָן / לְהִיּוֹת בְּחֻכְמָה
 יָם אִיֶּתָן
 מְסַתְפַּעֵלְן / מְסַתְפַּעֵלְן / מְסַתְפַּעֵלְן / פֻּאֵעַלְן פֻּאֵעַל
 מֵאִין גְּבוּל / אֵז עַב זְבוּל / תִּפְרָה יְבוּל / כָּל עֲצֵי מְגִדִי
 מְפַתְעֵלְן / מְסַתְפַּעֵלְן / מְסַתְפַּעֵלְן / פֻּאֵעַלְן פֻּאֵעַל
 תָּם יֶאֱהֵל / דוּד עִם קֵהֵל / עִמִּי צֵהֵל / לִין בְּמִרְבְּדִי

מִסְתַּפְּעֵלִין פֶּאֶעֶל פֶּאֶעֶל / מִסְתַּפְּעֵלִין פֶּאֶעֶל פֶּאֶעֶל / מִסְתַּפְּעֵלִין פֶּאֶעֶל פֶּאֶעֶל /
מִסְתַּפְּעֵלִין פֶּאֶעֶל פֶּאֶעֶל

חֲכָמָה אֶהְיֶינָה תְּבִיעַ / בְּשִׁיר מַעֲנָה תּוֹדִיעַ / בְּעִבּוֹר יְדִידָה תִּשְׁבִּיעַ / צִיר שְׁלֹחָה לּוֹ
מִפְּגִיעַ

מִסְתַּפְּעֵלִין / מִסְתַּפְּעֵלִין / מִסְתַּפְּעֵלִין / פֶּעֵלִין פֶּאֶעֶל
בְּאֵלֶּה רְסוּל / קַל לְלִבֵּי לִי / בִּיף אֶלְסָבִיל / וַיְבִית עֲנֻדִי
מִסְתַּפְּעֵלִין / מִסְתַּפְּעֵלִין / מִסְתַּפְּעֵלִין / פֶּעֵלִין פֶּאֶעֶל
כִּלְף אֶלְחֻגָּאֵל / נַעֲטִיה דְּלֵאֵל / עֲלֵי אֶלְנִכָּאֵל / וַנִּזְיֵד נְהַדִּי

‘The night thinking, I am going to awaken the heart / remembering the departure of my loved ones / I would writhe with the pain of a new mother / if I did not recognize their faces. | The Bear and Canopus / in a fruitless dispute / over a false prophet / argues against me. / My affliction corrodes / my heart without / fail, certainly / my physician is my jug.

I am going to extinguish the fire of passion. / It invades me on account of Joseph. / Esteemed by all who collect delicacies. / A substantial crop, pouch of silver | cleaned, in crucibles / purified, judge of / unabridged justice / amongst all those who I regard highly. / Pure in action / I will intone, spoils of / blessing, praise / for him throughout my life.

Since the days of old his ancestors have been convened / most are astonishing testimonies / who loaded [the Ark of the Covenant] on shoulders / they find them in their heart. | Merry fawn, / rotating sun, / religion is with him, the tendril / of mercy and majesty adorns him. / Redeem the unjust / ask whatever you please / I will grant it and / my virtue will never desert you.

His tent is better than an inner courtyard. / Fate during his life is like a bridegroom. / God has granted him the

gift of the word / so that in wisdom he will be an imposing | and limitless sea. / Now a great house / increases the harvest of / all my fruit trees / the beloved fully lives / with the community of / my people, he screams with joy, / he passes the night where my necklace lies.
 Wisdom has its loves / with a cantabile poem it gives witness / so that his friend is satisfied / he sent him an emissary pleading: | FOR GOD'S SAKE, MESSENGER, / SHOW THE FRIEND / HOW TO ARRIVE / SO THAT HE CAN SLEEP WITH ME! / BEHIND THE CURTAINS / I WILL GIVE HIM MY HAIR / DESPITE THE TORMENT [IT CAUSES ME] / AND I WILL ADD MY BREAST.'

מִסְתַּפְעֵלֶן פֹּאעַל פֹּאעַל / מִסְתַּפְעֵלֶן פֹּאעַל פֹּאעַל / מִסְתַּפְעֵלֶן פֹּאעַל פֹּעַלְן /
 מִסְתַּפְעֵלֶן פֹּאעַל פֹּאעַל
 אַחַר גְּלוּת סוּד מָה אֶטְמִין / בּוֹס מִשְׁמַאֵל דּוּד מִיְמִין / אִישׁ רִיב חֶדֶל בְּךָ לֹא אֶאֱמִין
 / רַק אֲשַׁמְאִילָהּ אִם תִּימִין
 מִסְתַּפְעֵלֶן מִסְתַּפְעֵלֶן מִסְתַּפְעֵלֶן פֹּאעַלְן פֹּאעַל / מִפְתַּעֲלֶן מִפֹּאעַלְן מִפֹּאעַלְן פֹּאעַלְן
 פֹּאעַל
 אִם אֶת רִגִּיל שְׁמַחָה וְגִיל עֵדֶן וְגִלְעָד רָאָה נִגְדִי / לֹא אֶאֱבֹל בְּיוֹם אֶבֶל בְּטוֹב אֶבֶל
 כָּל יְמֵי חַלְדִּי
 מִסְתַּפְעֵלֶן פֹּאעַל פֹּאעַל / מִסְתַּפְעֵלֶן פֹּאעַל פֹּאעַל / מִסְתַּפְעֵלֶן פֹּאעַל פֹּאעַל /
 מִסְתַּפְעֵלֶן פֹּאעַל פֹּאעַל
 פִּי כּוֹס בְּפִי עֶפֶר צִפָּה / יַיְנִי וּמַגְדוֹ פֶּה אֶל פֶּה / אֵין לִי בְּמוֹסְרָךְ מִרְפָּא / נָא קֹט
 מַעֲט מִנִּי הַרְפָּה
 מִסְתַּפְעֵלֶן מִסְתַּפְעֵלֶן מִסְתַּפְעֵלֶן פֹּאעַלְן פֹּאעַלְן פֹּאעַל / מִסְתַּפְעֵלֶן מִסְתַּפְעֵלֶן מִסְתַּפְעֵלֶן
 פֹּאעַלְן פֹּאעַל
 רוֹפֵא אֵלִיל אֲשַׁמַּע חֲלִיל רֵן עַל צִלִּיל יַיִן בְּפִי כִדִּי / מַרְיב גְּדֹל מְכֹאֹב חֶדֶל אֲשַׁאֵל
 כְּדֹל מְצַבִּי נִרְדִּי

מפתעלן פאעל פאעל / מסתפעלן פאעל פאעל / מפתעלן פאעל פאעל /
 מסתפעלן פאעל פאעל
 שיר נעלם גלה סודו / נפש בשם שר וכבודו / זה פעמון למעיל הודו / חלף כתב
 רקמת ידו
 מסתפעלן מסתפעלן מסתפעלן פעלן פאעל / מסתפעלן מסתפעלן מסתפעלן
 פאעלן פאעל
 רקמת כליל זהב כליל שיר מגליל מערב תעדי / זה הכלל ממהלל שולל שולל כל
 יקר חמדי
 מסתפעלן פאעל פאעל / מסתפעלן פאעל פעלן / מפתעלן פאעל פאעל /
 מסתפעלן פאעל פאעל
 חכמה קראתהו הימן / משה בכל ביתי נאמן / לך תענוג שדי זמן / עם חוט שפת
 שני כמן
 מסתפעלן מסתפעלן מסתפעלן פאעלן פאעל / מסתפעלן מסתפעלן מסתפעלן
 פאעלן פאעל
 רקיק כליל נפת כליל יפי וללאות שפת מדי / התר וגל שד קם כגל כשדי שגל חן
 ועש דדי
 מפתעלן פאעל פאעל / מפתעלן פאעל פאעל / מסתפעלן פאעל פאעל / מפתעלן
 פאעל פאעל
 מאהבתה בה תגמר / שיר אהבה ושיר מזמור / ללין בחיקה כצרוז מר / ציר
 נאמן נשבע לאמר
 מסתפעלן מסתפעלן מסתפעלן פעלן פאעל / מסתפעלן מסתפעלן מסתפעלן
 פאעל
 באללה רסול קל לכליל כיה אלסביל ויבית ענדי / כלף אלחגאל נעטיה דלאל עלי
 אלנכאל וגזיד נהדי

'Discovered the secret, what I am going to hide. / A glass
 on the left, a lover on the right / Rebuker, stop! I don't
 believe in you / I will turn left if you turn right. | If you
 are used to / joy and happiness, / Eden and Gile/ad I see

before me. / I am not going to mourn / for the time being
but / on happiness I will spend / what I have left.

My mouth is a glass in the mouth of a fawn, observe / my
wine and my fruit mouth to mouth. / I do not find help in
your advice. / Please, argue less, give me a break. |

Quack physician / I hear the kettledrum / joyous at the
rhythm of the / wine on the lip of my jug. / The fault-
finder increases / sorrows, stop! / I ask, like a pauper /
for tuberoses from my roe

A poem with a soft melody, discover its secret. / My soul,
dedicated to the prince and his honour. / It is a rattle for
the cloak of its splendour. / Renew the embroidered writ-
ing in your hand. | Wholly embroidered / out of gold,
perfection of / the song, the Galilee / of the west adorns
you. / This is the culmination / of the praise / taking as
spoils / my dearest longing.

Wisdom has called Heman, / called Moses, the most faith-
ful of all my close friends, / you are the recipient of the
pleasure of my breast, / with the filament of a crimson lip
like manna. | Biscuit soaked / in honey, the height of /
beauty. The / laces from the edge of my clothing / untie
and discover / a breast raised like a wave / like the
breasts of the concubine / beautiful, and nibble at my
bosom.

By virtue of his love for him / this love poem concludes
with a poem of praise / to pass the night at his breast like
a pouch of myrrh / promise the faithful messenger that: |
FOR GOD'S SAKE, MESSENGER, SHOW THE FRIEND HOW TO AR-
RIVE SO THAT HE CAN SLEEP WITH ME! / BEHIND THE CURTAINS
I WILL GIVE HIM MY HAIR DESPITE THE TORMENT [IT CAUSES ME]
AND I WILL ADD MY BREAST.'

4.0. Ambiguous Metres (*Muštābih*)

At times, especially with strophic compositions, it is difficult to identify the metre. There are many possible reasons for this, ranging from a challenge presented to the reader by the author to the inclusion of biblical citations or improper use of the metre. The following composition by Moses ibn Ezra (Brody 1935, 259) is a clear example of *mutadārak* modified with *qat'* (פֶּאֶעַל פֶּאֶעַל פֶּאֶעַל), but it contains the occasional *mutaqārib* foot (פֶּעוּלָן). This unexpected element is really the result of the free use of the *ḥazm* modification, which is here applied without restriction, rather than exclusively at the beginning of the verse, as prescribed by the classical rules.

I follow Corriente's reading (1997, 233).

פֶּאֶעַל פֶּאֶעַל פֶּאֶעַל פֶּאֶעַל / פֶּאֶעַל פֶּאֶעַל פֶּאֶעַל פֶּאֶעַל
מֵאֵהָב יְדֵי תִרְפִּינָה / וּלְפִרוּד עֵינֵי תִבְכִּינָה
פֶּאֶעַל פֶּאֶעַל פֶּאֶעַל פֶּאֶעַל / פֶּאֶעַל פֶּאֶעַל פֶּאֶעַל פֶּאֶעַל / פֶּאֶעַל פֶּאֶעַל פֶּאֶעַל פֶּאֶעַל
מִשֹּׁד חֶשֶׁק לְבֵי נִשְׁבֵּר / אֶדְצִיר פִּרוּד עָלֵי יַגְבֵּר / וּבְרוּאוֹתַי נֶחַל עֶבֶר
פֶּאֶעַל פֶּאֶעַל פֶּאֶעַל פֶּאֶעַל / פֶּאֶעַל פֶּעוּלָן פֶּאֶעַל פֶּאֶעַל
כִּי מִדָּם לִבִּי תִדְלִינָה / עַל כֵּן לְרַגַע לֹא תִדְמִינָה
פֶּאֶעַל פֶּאֶעַל פֶּאֶעַל פֶּאֶעַל / פֶּאֶעַל פֶּאֶעַל פֶּאֶעַל פֶּאֶעַל / פֶּאֶעַל פֶּאֶעַל פֶּאֶעַל פֶּאֶעַל
דָּמַע יִשְׁחָה אֶת מִשְׁכְּבֵי / הַפְּלֵא לְמֵאֵד אֶת מְכֹאֲבֵי / וּלְנוּד יִצְחַק רַב וּלְבָבֵי
פֶּאֶעַל פֶּאֶעַל פֶּאֶעַל פֶּאֶעַל / פֶּעוּלָן פֶּאֶעַל פֶּאֶעַל פֶּאֶעַל
קִירוֹחֲתוֹ תּוּגוֹת תִּקְרִינָה / וְתַבְּאֵנָה אֶל קִרְבֵּינָה
פֶּאֶעַל פֶּאֶעַל פֶּאֶעַל פֶּאֶעַל / פֶּאֶעַל פֶּאֶעַל פֶּאֶעַל פֶּאֶעַל / פֶּעוּלָן פֶּאֶעַל פֶּאֶעַל פֶּאֶעַל
מִיּוֹם נִדְד גָּלוּ גִילֵי / וּבִעַת רַחֵק חָלוּ חִילֵי / וְאֵימוֹת מָוֹת נָפְלוּ עָלַי

פֶּאֶעַל פֶּאֶעַל פֶּאֶעַל פֶּאֶעַל / פֶּאֶעַל פֶּאֶעַל פֶּאֶעַל פֶּאֶעַל
 עֲצֻמוֹתַי כְּעֵשׂ תִּכְלִינָה / וּבְאֵשׁ אֶהֱב תִּכְוִינָה
 פֶּאֶעַל פֶּאֶעַל פֶּאֶעַל פֶּאֶעַל / פֶּאֶעַל פֶּאֶעַל פֶּעוֹלָן פֶּאֶעַל / פֶּאֶעַל פֶּאֶעַל פֶּאֶעַל פֶּאֶעַל
 עֶפֶר מִדֵּי יָפִי לְבָשׁ / וּפֶאֶר הַחֹן לְבִדּוֹ חֶבֶשׁ / חִפּוֹ מִתּוֹק מִצּוּף וּדְבָשׁ
 פֶּאֶעַל פֶּאֶעַל פֶּאֶעַל פֶּאֶעַל / פֶּאֶעַל פֶּאֶעַל פֶּאֶעַל פֶּאֶעַל
 עֵינַיִם אוֹתוֹ תִּרְאִינָה / מִרְאוֹת לְעַד לֹא תִכְהִינָה
 פֶּאֶעַל פֶּאֶעַל פֶּעוֹלָן פֶּאֶעַל / פֶּאֶעַל פֶּעוֹלָן פֶּאֶעַל פֶּאֶעַל / פֶּאֶעַל פֶּעוֹלָן פֶּאֶעַל
 יוֹם מִפְּרָדוֹ לְאֵל בְּגִלְלוֹ / אֶקְרָא לְכוּנֵן אֶת מַעְגְּלוֹ / וּבְאַבְרָתוֹ יִסַּד עָלוֹ
 פֶּעוֹלָן פֶּאֶעַל פֶּאֶעַל פֶּאֶעַל / פֶּעוֹלָן פֶּאֶעַל פֶּאֶעַל פֶּאֶעַל
 חִפְט אֶלְלָה כְּלֵא בְּאֵן / וּרְעָאָה אֵין מֵא כְּאֵן

‘On account of love my hands lose strength, / and be-
cause of separation my eyes cry.

From so much love my heart is broken, / but the pain of
absence overwhelms me, / and through my eyes a torrent
passes, | from the blood of my heart its waters are drawn,
/ and hence they never quiet.

Tears bathe my bed, / my pains have expanded so, /
more so with the departure of Isaac, and the walls of my
heart | are covered by sorrows, / that come deep into the
core.

Since the day he left, my bliss has been exiled; / as he
went away pains overcame me, / fears of death fell upon
me, | my bones like a woodworm eaten away, / and burn
with the fire of love.

The fawn is attired in precious robes, / he alone is
cloaked in gracious beauty; / sweeter is his palate than
nectar and honey | the eyes that gaze upon him, / never
grow dim from watching.

The day of his separation to God on his behalf / I pray
 that his steps be firm / and under His wings he is shel-
 tered: | MAY GOD KEEP THE FRIEND WHO LEAVES / PROTECT
 HIM WHEREVER HE MAY BE.’

This phenomenon is not exclusive to strophic poetry, but can also occur in classical pieces. For example, the following composition (Jarden 1992, 60.1) has two possible scansions:

פִּאֲעֵל פִּעוּלֵן פִּעוּלֵן	פִּאֲעֵל פִּעוּלֵן פִּעוּלֵן
מִסְתַּפֵּע לֵן פִּאֲעֵלֵאֲתֵן	מִסְתַּפֵּע לֵן פִּאֲעֵלֵאֲתֵן
תִּשֵׁם בְּלִבְךָ כְּוִיָּה	אִם תִּפְגֹּשֶׁךָ תִּלְאַה

‘When sorrow reaches you / it leaves a scar on your
 heart.’ (Samuel ibn Nagrela Hanagid)

This verse and its analogues can be scanned as the *maǧzūʿ* form of *mutaqārib* (פִּעוּלֵן פִּעוּלֵן פִּעוּלֵן → פִּאֲעֵל בְּלִבְךָ תִּשֵׁם בְּלִבְךָ כְּוִיָּה), the first foot being modified with *talm* (פִּעוּלֵן → פִּאֲעֵל); or it can be scanned as *muǧtat* (מִסְתַּפֵּע לֵן פִּאֲעֵלֵאֲתֵן → אִם תִּפְגֹּשֶׁךָ שָׂא כְּאֲתִלְאַה). However, scanning it as *mutaqārib* involves the use of a *maǧzūʿ* form that is not used in the classical catalogue, and *muǧtat* therefore strikes me as the more suitable option.

In this context, the *ħarm* modification—which, according to the classical rules, can only be applied to the beginning of each hemistich—can in fact appear in any instance of the פִּעוּלֵן foot in *tawīl* metre, even those that do not come first in their hemistichs. Similarly free use of *ħarm* occurs in *musammaṭ* form, as discussed above. This use of *ħarm* can create a new fixed sequence devoid of even the slightest remains of the original foot (Pagis 1967, 1.1–2; Brody 1894, I:20.2):

פּאעל מִפּאעִילֵן פּאעל מִפּאעִילֵן	פּאעל מִפּאעִילֵן פּאעל מִפּאעִילֵן
טָרַם יְשִׁיבוּנִי יָמִים לְאֲדָמָתִי	לְקִרְאָת מְקוֹר חַיִּי אֶתֶן מִגְּמָתִי
כִּי הִיא לְבַדָּה מִתְּבַל תְּרוּמָתִי	לֹו חֲכָמָה נֶפֶשׁ רוּחַ מְרַדְּפָת

‘Having found the source of my life I will dedicate my purpose / before the days return me to the ground
If it were wise, my soul pursues the wind / because it is alone, this would be my earthly reward.’ (Levi ibn Altabban)

פּאעל מִפּאעִילֵן פּאעל מִפּאעִילֵן	פּאעל מִפּאעִילֵן פּאעל מִפּאעִילֵן
אַרְאֶה דְמוּת שֶׁשָּׁמַשׁ נִשְׁקָ לְיָרִיחַ	וְצָבִי בְיָדוֹ כֵּס זֵין וּבִשְׂתוֹתוֹ

‘And a roe in his hand a glass of wine and when he drinks it / it looks to me as if the sun kissed the moon.’ (Judah Halevi)

One of the most famous examples of this free use of the *harm* modification is the poem that Ibn Gabirol dedicated to Samuel ibn Nagrela, in *tawil* metre with *pe'* rhyme (Brody and Schirmann 1974, 4):

פּאעל מִפּאעִילֵן פּאעל מִפּאעִילֵן	פּאעל מִפּאעִילֵן פּאעל מִפּאעִילֵן
תְּאִיר כְּאוֹר חֲמָה בְּרָה מְאֹד יָפָה	מִי זֹאת כְּמוֹ שַׁחַר עוֹלָה וְנִשְׁקָפָה
פּאעל מִפּאעִילֵן פּאעל מִפּאעִילֵן	פּעוֹלֵן מִפּאעִילֵן פּעוֹלֵן מִפּאעִילֵן
רִיחָה כְּרִיחַ מֵר מְקֻטֵּר וּכְשֶׁרְפָה	כְּבוֹדָה כְּבַת מְלֹךְ עֲדִינָה מְעַנְנָה
פּאעל מִפּאעִילֵן פּאעל מִפּאעִילֵן	פּאעל מִפּאעִילֵן פּאעל מִפּאעִילֵן
אַרְאֶה כְּשֵׁפִים בָּהּ וְאִינָה מְכַשְׁפָּה	לְחִיָּה כְּשׁוֹשְׁנָה בְּדָם מְאֲדָמָת
פּאעל מִפּאעִילֵן פּאעל מִפּאעִילֵן	פּאעל מִפּאעִילֵן פּעוֹלֵן מִפּאעִילֵן
וּבְכֹל יְקָר אֶבֶן סַפִּיר מְעֻלְפָה	תַּעֲדָה עַדִּי זָהָב וּמִינֵי בְּדֻלְחִים
פּאעל מִפּאעִילֵן פּאעל מִפּאעִילֵן	פּעוֹלֵן מִפּאעִילֵן פּאעל מִפּאעִילֵן
שֶׁהִיא מְשֻׁמָּת כְּלָה מִיִּשְׁפָּה	כְּסֹהֵר בְּמוֹלְדוֹ כְּתֵרָה עָלֵי רֵאשָׁה
פּאעל מִפּאעִילֵן פּאעל מִפּאעִילֵן	פּאעל מִפּאעִילֵן פּאעל מִפּאעִילֵן

יוֹנָה תִּדְלַג עַל שְׁדָה וְהִיא עֶפֶה
 פֹּאֵעַל מִפֹּאֵעִילָן פֹּאֵעַל מִפֹּאֵעִילָן
 עַת רִאֲתָה אוֹתִי אִז כְּסִתָּה אֶפֶה
 פִּעוּלָן מִפֹּאֵעִילָן פֹּאֵעַל מִפֹּאֵעִילָן
 וְתִבֵּל רִאֵי לוֹלֵא אוֹרֶךְ כְּמוֹ עֵיפָה
 פִּעוּלָן מִפֹּאֵעִילָן פֹּאֵעַל מִפֹּאֵעִילָן
 כְּאֵלוֹ מְרִיקָה צוּף בְּהֵם וּמִטִּיפָה
 פֹּאֵעַל מִפֹּאֵעִילָן פֹּאֵעַל מִפֹּאֵעִילָן
 לְהִיּוֹת לְבֵיתוֹ סוֹבֶבֶת וּמְקִיפָה
 פֹּאֵעַל מִפֹּאֵעִילָן פֹּאֵעַל מִפֹּאֵעִילָן
 אוֹתוֹ בְּחִיתָדָה לֹא תִהְיִי צוֹפֶה
 פֹּאֵעַל מִפֹּאֵעִילָן פֹּאֵעַל מִפֹּאֵעִילָן
 כְּלָה בְּאֶהְבְּתוֹ אוֹתָדָה וְגַם נִסְפָה
 פֹּאֵעַל מִפֹּאֵעִילָן פֹּאֵעַל מִפֹּאֵעִילָן
 כְּעֹלוֹת שְׁמוּאֵל בְּרָמָה וּבְמִצְפָּה
 פֹּאֵעַל מִפֹּאֵעִילָן פֹּאֵעַל מִפֹּאֵעִילָן
 גּוֹלָה וְנִפְזָרֶת שְׁמָה מְאֻסָּפָה
 פִּעוּלָן מִפֹּאֵעִילָן פִּעוּלָן מִפֹּאֵעִילָן
 וּבְטַח בְּמַחְמָדִי זְהָבָה וְגַם כְּסָפָה
 פֹּאֵעַל מִפֹּאֵעִילָן פִּעוּלָן מִפֹּאֵעִילָן
 וּלְכֹל חֲלִי אֶתְךָ כְּתֻעֵלָה וְכִתְרוּפָה
 פֹּאֵעַל מִפֹּאֵעִילָן פִּעוּלָן מִפֹּאֵעִילָן
 הִנְנִי בְּחַנְנִי וְלִבִּי בּוֹזֵאת צָרָפָה
 פֹּאֵעַל מִפֹּאֵעִילָן פִּעוּלָן מִפֹּאֵעִילָן
 יִרְבֶּה דְבַר צַחוֹת לֹא לַעֲנִי שְׁפָה
 פִּעוּלָן מִפֹּאֵעִילָן פֹּאֵעַל מִפֹּאֵעִילָן
 אִף יַעֲטוּ בִשֵׁת כְּלָם וְגַם חֲרָפָה

כִּי נִרְאֲתָה לִי מִרְחוֹק חֻשְׁבַּתִּיהָ
 פֹּאֵעַל מִפֹּאֵעִילָן פֹּאֵעַל מִפֹּאֵעִילָן
 רִצְתִי לְקַרְבָּתָה עַת שְׁרֵאִיתִיהָ
 פֹּאֵעַל מִפֹּאֵעִילָן פִּעוּלָן מִפֹּאֵעִילָן
 אֲנֵא פְּנוּתָדָה אֶת וְהַיּוֹם מֵאֵד פְּנָה
 פֹּאֵעַל מִפֹּאֵעִילָן פִּעוּלָן מִפֹּאֵעִילָן
 תִּנְיָד שְׁפִתֶיהָ אִז לְהִשְׁיבֵנִי
 פֹּאֵעַל מִפֹּאֵעִילָן פֹּאֵעַל מִפֹּאֵעִילָן
 לְרֵאוֹת שְׁמוּאֵל הַרוֹאֶה אֲנִי עוֹלָה
 פֹּאֵעַל מִפֹּאֵעִילָן פֹּאֵעַל מִפֹּאֵעִילָן
 וְאִזִּי עֲנִיתִיהָ אֵל תִּלְכִּי אֵל כִּי
 פֹּאֵעַל מִפֹּאֵעִילָן פֹּאֵעַל מִפֹּאֵעִילָן
 כִּי מֵת וְגַם יֵרֵד לְשֹׁאֵל בְּרַב חֶשֶׁק
 פִּעוּלָן מִפֹּאֵעִילָן פֹּאֵעַל מִפֹּאֵעִילָן
 לְכִי אֵל שְׁמוּאֵל שְׁעֵלָה בְּאַרְצָנוּ
 פֹּאֵעַל מִפֹּאֵעִילָן פֹּאֵעַל מִפֹּאֵעִילָן
 חֶקֶר תְּבוּנָה שְׁכַל סוּד סִתְרִיהָ
 פֹּאֵעַל מִפֹּאֵעִילָן פִּעוּלָן מִפֹּאֵעִילָן
 שְׁלַל שְׁלָלִיהָ וְכַמֵּס בְּאַצְרוּתִי
 פֹּאֵעַל מִפֹּאֵעִילָן פֹּאֵעַל מִפֹּאֵעִילָן
 דוּדִי יָדִיד נִפְשִׁי אֶתְךָ צָרִי מְכָאוֹב
 פֹּאֵעַל מִפֹּאֵעִילָן פֹּאֵעַל מִפֹּאֵעִילָן
 לְמֵאֵד אֶהְבֵּתִיךָ אִז קוֹץ לְאֶהְבְּתָדָה
 פִּעוּלָן מִפֹּאֵעִילָן פֹּאֵעַל מִפֹּאֵעִילָן
 וּמֵאֶהְבְּתִי בְּדָה שִׁירִי יְהוּדָדָה
 פִּעוּלָן מִפֹּאֵעִילָן פֹּאֵעַל מִפֹּאֵעִילָן
 כֹּל בְּעֲלֵי הַשִּׁיר חֲרָדוֹ לְעַמְתּוֹ

‘Who is she who like the dawn rises and reveals herself? /

She shines like the sun, pure and beautiful.

Noble like the king's daughter, tender, delicate, / her
 scent is like burnt myrrh and incense.
 Her cheek is like a rose flushed with blood; / I see her
 spells although she is not a sorceress.
 She adorns herself with jewels of gold and pearls, / and is
 covered with sapphire gems.
 Like the crescent moon is the crown above her head, /
 everything she is, is onyx and jasper.
 If she revealed herself in the distance, I would think / it is
 a dove leaping and flitting about the field.
 When I saw her, I ran to her, / and upon seeing me she
 hid her face.
 Where are you going, where? The day is far spent, / look
 at the world that without light would be like the dark-
 ness.
 She moved her lips to answer me, / it was as if honey
 spilled and dripped over them:
 I rise to see Samuel the seer, / to circle his house.
 Then I responded: Don't go, no, for / while you live you
 will not be able to see him,
 for he has died and descended to Sheol; because of his
 deep affection, / his love for you he became spent and
 died.
 Go to that Samuel who has set up in our land, / as did the
 other one in Ramah and Mizpah.
 He studied science, he understood the secret of the ar-
 cane. / That which was exiled and scattered he knew how
 to gather;
 he took its spoils and placed them in his treasuries, /
 trusting in its gold and silver gems.
 My beloved, my soulmate, you are the balm for pain, /
 for every illness you are the cure and remedy.

Much have I loved you, there is no end to my love for you. / Here I am, appraise me and my heart, with this, endeavours.

Out of love for you it praises you / with many pure words.

All words tremble before it, / they all blush and cover themselves in shame.'

Finally, the following example (Brody and Albrecht 1906, 5), is a *musammaṭ murabba'* that tries to maintain the *mustaṭīl* metre, but unsuccessfully. At first glance, it seems to be a clear example of bad verse. It is a very early composition, signed in an acrostic by Isaac ibn Kapron (or Qafrūn, Cordoba, 10th century), who inserts and metrically integrates biblical citations here and there, including their scansion in brackets:

מפּעֹלוֹ פּעֹלוֹ	מפּעֹלוֹ פּעֹלוֹ	מפּעֹלוֹ פּעֹלוֹ	[מפּעֹלוֹ פּעֹלוֹ]
יְגִרְתִּי מִפְּנֵי	וְלֹא־אֶמְצָא מַעֲנֶה	שָׁמַיִם כִּנְה	
מִסֶּתֶפֶעֶלוֹ פּעֹלוֹ	מפּעֹלוֹ פּעֹלוֹ	פּעֹלוֹ פּעֹלוֹ	פּעֹלוֹ פּעֹלוֹ
צָעִיר אֲנִי וְנִכְאָה	כִּמוֹ־זֶקֶן גָּאָה	חֶסֶדְךָ אִזְ אֶרְאֶה	
פּעֹלוֹ פּעֹלוֹ	מפּעֹלוֹ פּעֹלוֹ	מפּעֹלוֹ פּעֹלוֹ	[מִסֶּתֶפֶעֶלוֹ פּעֹלוֹ]
חֶסֶדְךָ אֶשְׁבֵּר	וְלֹא־עוֹד אֶדְבֵּר	בְּלִבְךָ מִתְגַּבֵּר	
מִסֶּתֶפֶעֶלוֹ פּעֹלוֹ	מִסֶּתֶפֶעֶלוֹ פּעֹלוֹ	מפּעֹלוֹ פּעֹלוֹ	מפּעֹלוֹ פּעֹלוֹ
קָמְתִי אֲנִי וְאָעִיד	יְהִי פִי בְּחִיז אֶפְעִיר	וְתַעֲלֵ לִי רַחֲמִים	
מפּעֹלוֹ פּעֹלוֹ	פּעֹלוֹ פּעֹלוֹ	מפּעֹלוֹ פּעֹלוֹ	מפּעֹלוֹ פּעֹלוֹ
בְּקִרְאִי אֶלֶיךָ	שָׁמַעַתְּ בִּי עֲלֶיךָ	יַעֲזֹב חֶלְדְּךָ	יְהִי צוֹר עֲלֵמִים
מפּעֹלוֹ מִפּעֹלוֹ	מִתְעַלֵּוֹ פּעֹלוֹ	מפּעֹלוֹ פּעֹלוֹ	מפּעֹלוֹ פּעֹלוֹ
נְאוֹר מִמְעוֹנְךָ	אֵל תַּעֲלֵם עֵינֶיךָ	וְנִקֵּם בִּימִינֶךָ	אֵל מִמִּתְקוֹמֵמִים
פּעֹלוֹ פּעֹלוֹ	מפּעֹלוֹ פּעֹלוֹ	מפּעֹלוֹ פּעֹלוֹ	[מפּעֹלוֹ פּעֹלוֹ]
קִדְשֶׁךָ הַחֲרִיבוּ	וְאֵתִי הַסְחִיבוּ	לְרַגְלֵי הַצִּיבוּ	מִצּוֹדִים וְחֲרָמִים

מפּעולוּ פּעולוּ	מפּעולוּ פּעולוּ	פּעולוּ פּעולוּ	פּעולוּ פּעולוּ
הַיִּינוּ יְתִמִּים	כִּי אֵין לָנוּ אָב	וְלִבֵּנוּ נִכְאָב	פְּאַרְנוּ נִתְעַב
מפּעולוּ פּעולוּ	[פּעולוּ מפּאעִילוּ]	מפּאעִילוּ פּעולוּ	מפּעולוּ פּעולוּ
בֵּית קְדוּשָׁה הֶלְמִים	בְּכִשְׁלִי וְכִלְפוֹת	וְנִהַי לְשִׁרְפוֹת	רְדָנוּ לְחִרְפוֹת
[מפּאעִילוּ פּעולוּ]	מפּאעִילוּ פּעולוּ	מפּאעִילוּ פּעולוּ	מפּאעִילוּ פּעולוּ
מְנוּד רֹאשׁ בְּלֹאמִים	וּמְשֵׁל בְּגוֹזִים	נְפוּצִים וּבְזוּיִים	וְנִהַי בְּאֵיִים
מסֶתֶפּעִילוּ פּעולוּ	מפּאעִילוּ פּעולוּ	מפּאעִילוּ פּעולוּ	פּאעִילוּ מפּעִילוּ
לִילוֹת וְגַם יָמִים	וְעֵלִי יִתְלַחֲשׁוּ	וְעַל גְּבִי חֲרָשׁוּ	נִוְעָצוּ גַם רְגָשׁוּ
מפּעולוּ פּעולוּ	מפּעולוּ פּעולוּ	מפּאעִילוּ פּעולוּ	מפּאעִילוּ פּעולוּ
עַל כֶּסֶּא רַחֲמִים	אֵל מְלֹךְ יֵשֵׁב	וְשׁוֹנְעֵתִי הַקֶּשֶׁב	שְׁשׁוֹנָה לִי הַשֵּׁב

‘I remain afraid of (Deut. 9.19) / the Creator of the heavens / I cannot find words / my lips are mute;

Young and dejected / I will benefit from Your favour / like the friendly old man / upright in his ways;

I hope for Your mercy / with a firm heart / I will not keep talking / for I am young in years (Job 32.6).

I begin my prayer / with the permission of the great and small / Lord! I open my pleading mouth / take pity on me

When I beseech You / listen to me, because in You / the poor commit themselves unto You / Lord, eternal Rock! Full of light! from Your abode / do not hide Your eyes / avenge Yourself with Your right hand / God! of Your adversaries.

They have destroyed Your Sanctuary / they have dragged me / on my feet they have put / snares and nets (Eccl. 7.26).

Our honour is sullied / our heart, ill / because we have no father / we have been orphaned.

They distress and humiliate us / they take us to the bonfire / with axes and hammers (Ps. 74.6) / they tear down Your Sanctuary.

In every country / scattered and scorned / they mock us /
 a shaking of the head amongst the people (Ps. 44.15);
 They conspire and lash out / they plough over my sword
 / night and day / they whisper against me.
 Return Your joy to me / and hear my prayer! / God!,
 King seated / upon the throne of mercy.'

5.0. Hybrid Compositions

In the field of religious poetry, the Hebrew poets developed hybrid strophic forms in which they combined all the free uses of modifications associated with *musammaṭ* with some strophic structures that changed in each segment. This technique appears to have been prompted by the insertion of biblical citations that spawned the composition and gave it its theme, as if they were a biblical *ḥarḡa*.

The following example (Brody and Albrecht 1906, 52) is one of the most famous religious poems by any Andalusi Hebrew poet and is in fact still recited to this day. It is a strophic composition by the poet Judah ibn Bil'am (with an acrostic signature), in *hazaḡ maḡzū'* metre, in which both the two types of *darb* accepted by this metre (מפאעילין and פּעולין) are used. The filling feet appear with all the modifications permitted by the classical rules: *kaff* (מפאעילין → מפאעיל), *qabd* (מפאעילין → מפאעילין), *ḥarm* (מפאעילין → מפאעילין), *ḥarb* (מפאעילין → מפאעילין), and *šitr* (מפאעילין → מפאעילין). The introduction of the biblical passage at the end of the last strophe (*pizmon*) can produce alterations in the metre. I have not scanned the biblical citations.

In any event, what is important in this case is the strophic structure. The poem is made up of five verses of four segments

whose rhyme appears to be *aaaa bbba ccca ddda eeea*; as can be seen, the first original monorhyme verse gives rise to four others with a *musammaṭ* form. In the second and third verses, furthermore, the poet even seems to be trying out a type of internal rhyme between the first hemistichs.

מפאעילן מפעולן	מפאעילן מפעולן
בְּזַכְרֵי עַל מִשְׁפְּבִי	וְדוֹן לְבִי וְאַשְׁמִי
מפאעילן מפאעילן	מפאעילן מפעולן
וְאַקוּמָה וְאַבּוֹאָה	לְבַיִת אֵלַי וְהִדְמִי
מפאעילן מפאעילן מפעולן מפעולן	מפאעילן מפאעילן
וְאַמְרָה בְּנִשְׂאֵי עֵין בְּתַחֲנוּנִים אֵלַי שְׁמִי	נִפְלֵה־נָא בִּידְיִי כִּי־רַבִּים רַחֲמִי
מפאעילן מפאעילן	מפאעילן מפאעילן
לְךָ אֵלַי [וְ] צוֹר חִילִי	מְנַסְתִּי בְּצַרְחִי
מפאעילן מפאעילן	מפאעילן מפאעילן
בְּךָ שִׁבְרִי וְתַקְוֹתִי	אֵילוֹתַי בְּגִלוֹתַי
מפאעילן מפאעילן	מפאעילן מפעולן
לְךָ כָּל מִשְׁאַלוֹת לְבִי	וְעַרְךָ כָּל תַּאוֹתַי
מפאעילן מפאעילן	
פְּדָה עֶבֶד לְךָ צֶעַק מִיַּד רִדְיוֹ וְקִמְיוֹ	נִפְלֵה־נָא בִּידְיִי כִּי־רַבִּים רַחֲמִי
מפאעילן מפעולן	
עֲנֵנִי יְיָ עֲנֵנִי	בְּקִרְאֵי מִן הַמִּצַּר
מפאעילן מפאעילן	מפּעוּלֹן מִפּעוּלֹן
וְאַל תִּבְזֶה עֲנוֹת עֲנִי	צֶעַק מִתְגַּרֵּת צָר
מפאעילן מפאעילן	פּאעֵלֹן מִפּעוּלֹן
וַיִּוֹדַע בְּעַמִּים כִּי	יָדָךְ לֹא תִקְצַר

מפאעילן מפאעילן מפאעילן
 וישר מעוה מודה ומתודה על עלמיו נפלה נא בידיי כירבים רחמיו

מפאעילן פעולן מפאעילן
 למה יתאונן ויאמר מה ידבר ויצטדק
 מפאעילן מפאעילן מפאעילן מפאעילן
 יציר חמר אשר נחשב גויתו כאבק דק
 מפעולן פאעלן מפאעילן
 מה יתן לך אדם אם ירשע ואם יצדק
 מפאעילן מפאעילן מפאעילן מפאעילן מפאעילן מפ
 הלא מליו ומפעליו כתובים במספר ימיו נפלה נא בידיי כירבים רחמיו

מפאעילן מפאעילן מפאעילן מפאעילן
 חצות לילה לך קמו עבדיך במהללם
 מפאעילן מפאעילן מפאעילן מפאעילן
 זכות אבות זכר להם ואל תפן למעללם
 מפאעילן מפאעילן מפאעילן מפאעילן
 קדוש יעקב ראה עננים ואל תמוד כמפעלם
 מפאעילן מפעולן מפעולן מפעולן
 והנשא אל עשה השלום במרומיו נפלה נא בידיי כירבים רחמיו

‘Upon remembering on my bed / the arrogance of my
 heart and its sins / I rise and go / to the temple of my
 Lord and his chambers. / I say when I lift my eyes in
 prayer to the heavens || *let us now fall into the hands of the
 Lord, for his mercies are great* (2 Sam. 24.14).

To You, my God, Rock of my strength / my refuge in my
 anguish. / In You, my trust, my hope / my energy in my
 exile / To You, all the requests of my heart / and all my
 desires are presented. / Redeem your servant who yells
 out from his accusers and enemies soon || *let us now fall
 into the hands of the Lord, for his mercies are great* (2 Sam.
 24.14).

Hear me, Oh Lord, hear me (1 Kgs 18.37) / when I plead from my predicament. / Do not scorn the wretchedness of the wretched / who yells from the fury of anguish. / The peoples know that / Your hand is not short / and he who wrested justice, recognizes and accepts his faults || *let us now fall into the hands of the Lord, for his mercies are great* (2 Sam. 24.14).

Wherefore doth a living man complain (Lam. 3.39) and affirm, / what he is going to say and justify. / Mud work lacking value, / his body is like fine dust. / What shall be given unto thee (Ps. 120.3), man / if the work is bad or it is just. / Perhaps these are not his words and acts recorded in the count of his days || *let us now fall into the hands of the Lord, for his mercies are great* (2 Sam. 24.14).

At midnight / your servants arose with their praise. / The purity of the patriarchs, remember them, / and do not look at their bad deeds. / Holy One of Jacob, look at his misery / and do not judge them by their acts. / Exalted be God who makes peace on high || *let us now fall into the hands of the Lord, for his mercies are great* (2 Sam. 24.14).

Something similar occurs in the poem by Judah Halevi, *musammaṭ murrabaʿ* in *mutaqārib* metre, discussed earlier in the section on *musammaṭ* (Brody 1894, II:176). The poet describes a storm at sea, closing every strophe (or verse) with Psalm 139.7. This verse may even determine the metre of the poem, since it can be scanned correctly as *mutaqārib*, with modifications characteristic of the metre, which the poet applies throughout the composition (אַנְגָה אֶלֶד מְרוֹחֵד וְאַנְגָה מְפַגְעֵד אֶבְרָחָ: → פֶּאֶעֶל פֶּאֶעֶל פֶּאֶעֶל → אֶנְגָה אֶלֶד מְרוֹחֵד וְאַנְגָה מְפַגְעֵד אֶבְרָחָ: → פֶּאֶעֶל פֶּאֶעֶל פֶּאֶעֶל פֶּעוּלֵן פֶּאֶעֶל פֶּאֶעֶל). The metre is ambiguous, because it also uses modifications typical of *mutadārak*, but the predominance of the פֶּעוּלֵן foot confirms that this is indeed *mutaqārib*. The filling feet are modified with *qabd* (פֶּעוּלֵן → פֶּעוּל) and *talm* (פֶּעוּלֵן →

פּאָעל), as in *mutaqārib*. However, they also appear modified with *ḥabn* (פּאַעלִין → פּעֲלִין), and even, at the end of the poem, with syllables added to the beginning using *ḥazm* (פּאַעל → מִפְּעֻלִין), both modifications that are characteristic of *mutadārak*. Nevertheless, it does not seem that the high number of פּעֲלִין feet is the result of extending the modified *mutadārak* foot with *ḥazm* (פּאַעל → פּעֲלִין); rather, this foot marks the poem's metre.

Altogether, this composition is made up of five large blocks that are structured and rhymed in an unusual and experimental way. Each block begins with a letter of the name of the author (יהודה) and each is made up of six verses plus a refrain, or *pizmon*, which always finishes with the biblical citation (Psalm 139.7). The first strophe maintains the rhyme of the passage in Psalms, i.e., /aaaaaa a/, while the others have their own internal rhyme, only recovering the rhyme of the biblical citation at the end, as if this were *musammaṭ*, i.e., /bbbbbb aa/, /ccccc aa/, /dddddd aa/, /eeeeee aa/:

פּאַעל פּאַעל	פּעֲלִין פּעֲלִין	פּאַעל פּעֲלִין	פּאַעל פּעֲלִין
צְדָקוֹ סָרַח	וְעַל יָם רְחוּקִים	בְּמָרוֹם שְׁחָקִים	יֹעֵץ וּמְקִים
פּעֲלִין פּאַעל	פּאַעל פּאַעל	פּעֲלִין פּעֲלִין	פּאַעלִין פּאַעל
וְלִרְיֵק יִטְרַח	שְׁקֵר נִסְכּוֹ	וְאִם אֵין כְּמִלְכוֹ	לֹא לְאִישׁ דְּרָכוֹ
פּאַעל פּאַעל	פּעֲלִין פּעֲלִין	פּאַעל פּעֲלִין	פּאַעל פּאַעל
לְרוּץ אֶרֶח	יָם וְשֵׁשׁ כְּגִבּוֹר	יוֹם רֵץ לְעֵבֵר	עוֹלָה מְבוֹר
פּעֲלִין פּאַעל	פּעֲלִין פּאַעל	פּאַעל פּעֲלִין	פּאַעל פּאַעל
וְהִנֵּה מְזֻרַח	וּמִעֶרֶב בְּקֶשׁ	דְּרָכוֹ בְּמוֹקֶשׁ	חֲטָאוֹ עֲקֶשׁ
פּעֲלִין פּעֲלִין	פּעֲלִין פּאַעל	פּעֲלִין פּעֲלִין	פּאַעל פּאַעל
וַיִּסַּע וַיִּאָּרַח	יַעֲמִיד דְּגִלּוֹ	בְּכַחוֹ וּשְׁכִלּוֹ	יִדַּע כִּי לֹא

פּאעל פּאעל	פּעולן פּעולן	פּעולן פּעולן	פּאעל פּעולן
קול מר יצרח	ומרב עבודה	בנפש חרדה	אז שב והודה

אָנָה אֵלֶּךָ מְרוֹחֵד וְאָנָה מִפְּגִיד אֲבָרַח:

פּאעל פּאעל	פּעולן פּעולן	פּעולן פּאעל	פּאעל פּאעל
הָמוּ גֵלִים	וְעֵבִים וְקֵלִים	בְּרוּץ גִּלְגִּלִּים	קָדְרוּ שְׁמִיּוֹ
פּאעל פּאעל	פּעולן פּעולן	פּאעל פּאעל	פּעולן פּאעל
קָדְרוּ שְׁמִיּוֹ	וְעָלוּ תְהוֹמִיּוֹ	יְחַמְרוּ מִיָּמִיּוֹ	פּעולן פּאעל
פּעולן פּאעל	פּעולן פּאעל	פּעולן פּאעל	פּעולן פּאעל
וְסִיר יִרְתִּיחַ	וְאִין מִשְׁבִּיחַ	וְקוֹל יִצְרִיחַ	פּעולן פּאעל
פּעולן פּאעל	פּאעל פּעולן	פּאעל פּעולן	פּעולן פּאעל
וְרַפּוֹ חֲזָקִים	חֲצִיִּם עֲמָקִים	נְחָלְקוּ אֲפִיקִים	פּאעל פּאעל
פּאעל פּאעל	פּעולן פּאעל	פּאעל פּעולן	פּאעל פּאעל
הָאֲנִי חוֹלָה	וְעֵין תּוֹלָה	יִרְדֶּה וְעוֹלָה	פּעולן פּאעל
פּעולן פּאעל	פּעולן פּאעל	פּעולן פּעולן	פּעולן פּאעל
וְלִבִּי מַחְשָׁה	כַּעַל יַד מוֹשֶׁה	אֲקוּהָ לְמַמְשָׁה	פּאעל פּעולן
פּאעל פּעולן	פּאעל פּעולן	פּאעל פּעולן	פּאעל פּעולן
אֲקָרָא אֲדָנִי	פֶּן תַּחְנוּנִי	אִירָא עוֹנִי	פּאעל פּעולן

אָנָה אֵלֶּךָ מְרוֹחֵד וְאָנָה מִפְּגִיד אֲבָרַח:

פּעולן פּאעל	פּעולן פּעולן	פּעולן פּעולן	פּעולן פּאעל
וְיָם מַתְרוֹצֵץ	אֲרִזִּים וְיָפֵץ	וְקָדִים יְפוֹצֵץ	רוּחַ קֶצֶףּוֹ
פּאעל פּעולן	פּעולן פּאעל	פּעולן פּאעל	פּאעל פּעולן
שָׁחָה קֶרֶנָּם	וְנִלְאָה תֶרֶנָּם	וְנִבְהַל סֶרֶנָּם	לְפָרֵשׁ כְּנָפִיּוֹ
פּאעל פּעולן	פּעולן פּאעל	פּעולן פּאעל	פּעולן פּעולן
יִרְתַּח בְּלִי אֵשׁ	בַּעַת הַתְּבֹאֵשׁ	וְלֵב מִתְיָאֵשׁ	בְּמִשׁוֹט מְנִיפִיּוֹ
פּאעל פּאעל	פּעולן פּאעל	פּעולן פּאעל	פּעולן פּאעל
דְּלִים מִשְׁלִיּוֹ	וּבַעֲרִים חֲבִלִיּוֹ	וְנִרְפִים סִבְלִיּוֹ	וְעוֹרִים צוֹפִיּוֹ
פּאעל פּעולן	פּעולן פּאעל	פּעולן פּעולן	פּאעל פּעולן
הָאֲנִי כְּשֹׁבֵר	בְּלִי הוֹן יִמְכּוֹר	יִתְעַתַּע וְיִחַפֵּר	שִׁכְנִי כְּתַפְּיּוֹ

פּעוֹלֵן פּעוֹלֵן	פּאָעל פּעוֹלֵן	פּעוֹלֵן פּאָעל	פּעוֹלֵן פּאָעל
לְמִשְׁתָּה אָסוּפִיו	יְקַדִּישׁ כְּחַתָּן	בְּעַד יָם אֵיתָן	וְזֶה לְוִיתָן
פּעוֹלֵן פּאָעל	פּעוֹלֵן פּאָעל	פּעֵלָן פּאָעל	פּעוֹלֵן פּאָעל
וְאַפֶּס מְבָרַח	וְאַבְדַּ מְנוּס	תֵּאָהֵב לְכֵנוּס	וְיָד אֶקְיִנוּס

אַנָּה אֵלֶּךְ מְרוֹחֵד וְאַנָּה מִפְּגִיד אֶבְרַח:

פּאָעל פּאָעל	פּעוֹלֵן פּעוֹלֵן	פּאָעל פּעוֹלֵן	פּאָעל פּאָעל
דְּלוּ עֵינֵי	וְאֵת תַּחֲנוּנֵי	נִגְדָד אֲדֹנֵי	פּעֵלָן פּעוֹלֵן
פּעוֹלֵן פּאָעל	פּעוֹלֵן פּעוֹלֵן	פּעוֹלֵן פּאָעל	אֶחָרַד לְעֵתִי
לְךָ אֶקְרִיבָה	וְקוֹל בֶּן אִמְתִּי	וְאַרְגֹּז תַּחֲתִי	פּעוֹלֵן פּאָעל
פּאָעל פּאָעל	פּאָעל פּעוֹלֵן	פּעוֹלֵן פּאָעל	בְּזִכְרֵי יָם סוּף
שִׁיר אִיטִיבָה	עָרַב וְכִסּוּף	אֲשֶׁר לֹא יִסּוּף	פּעוֹלֵן פּאָעל
פּאָעל פּאָעל	פּאָעל פּעוֹלֵן	פּאָעל פּאָעל	וְנוֹרְאוֹת יַרְדֵּן
לֵב אֶרְחִיבָה	וְכִמוּ בְעֵדָן	בָּם אֶתְעַדָּן	פּעוֹלֵן פּאָעל
פּעוֹלֵן פּעוֹלֵן	פּאָעל פּעוֹלֵן	פּעוֹלֵן פּעוֹלֵן	לְמִמַּתִּיק מֶרֶה
וְיוֹם מִי מְרִיבָה	יּוֹם אִף וְעִבְרָה	וְהוֹפֵד לְעִזְרָה	פּעוֹלֵן פּאָעל
פּאָעל פּעוֹלֵן	פּאָעל פּעוֹלֵן	פּעוֹלֵן פּאָעל	וְהָעֵינַיִם
עֵזִים נְתִיבָה	גּוֹתָן בְּמִים	לְאֵל שָׁמַיִם	פּאָעל פּאָעל
פּאָעל פּאָעל	פּעוֹלֵן פּאָעל	פּאָעל פּאָעל	חֵם אֲדַמְתּוּ
יֵתָן קֶרַח	וּמִנְשָׁמְתּוּ	מִחַמְתּוּ	אַנָּה אֵלֶּךְ מְרוֹחֵד וְאַנָּה מִפְּגִיד אֶבְרַח:

פּאָעלֵן פּאָעל	פּעוֹלֵן פּאָעל	פּאָעל פּעוֹלֵן	פּאָעל פּעוֹלֵן
מִשְׁאוּל פְּדָה	וְאֵת נִשְׁמָתּוּ	מִבֶּן אִמְתּוּ	הַשִּׁיב חַמְתּוּ
פּעוֹלֵן פּעוֹלֵן	פּאָעל פּעוֹלֵן	פּעֵלָן פּעוֹלֵן	פּעוֹלֵן פּעוֹלֵן
וְאִין קוֹל חֲרָדָה	בֵּין הַתְּהוֹמוֹת	לְעִשׂוֹת שְׁלוֹמוֹת	וְרָצוּ מְרוֹמוֹת
פּעוֹלֵן פּעוֹלֵן	פּעוֹלֵן פּאָעל	פּאָעל פּעוֹלֵן	פּעוֹלֵן פּאָעל
וְנִסָּה קִפְדָּה	וְסָרָה יִרְאָה	הַפֵּד לְחַמָּאָה	וּמִימֵי קִנְיָה
פּאָעל פּעוֹלֵן	פּאָעל פּעוֹלֵן	פּעוֹלֵן פּעֵלָן	פּעוֹלֵן פּעוֹלֵן
קוֹל הַצְּעֵדָה	מִן הַמְּרוֹמִים	לְמִלְאֵד רַחֲמִים	וְשָׁמְעוּ עֲגוּמִים

פּאעל פּאעל	פּעולן פּעולן	פּאעל פּעולן	פּאעל פּעולן
עָלוּ כְּבִדָּה	וַיֵּד צָר וּמוֹסָר	עָם קָץ בְּמֵאֶסֶר	כָּכָה יִבְשֶׁר
פּאעל פּעולן	פּאעל פּעולן	פּאעל פּעולן	פּעולן פּעולן
מִזְמוֹר לְתוֹדָה	תִּשְׁמַע שְׁנֵיהָ	דְּמַתָּה אֲנִיָּה	וְסַעֲרָה עֲנִיָּה
מִפְּעוּלָן פּאעל	פּאעל פּעולן	מִפְּעוּלָן פּעולן	פּעולן פּעולן
עָלִיד זָרַח	כִּי כְבוֹד יִי	מֵאֶפֶל עֲנֵנִי	צָאִי בֵּת אֲמוּנִי

אָנָּה אֵלֶּךָ מְרוֹחֶךָ וְאֲנִי מִפְּנֵיךָ אֲבָרַח:

‘Whoever decides and executes / is in the highest Heavens / and over the faraway sea / His justice shines. | Man is not the master of his route, / rather it is by His rules, / his molten image is a lie / and he endeavours in vain. | From the well he rises / one day, he hastens to cross / the seas, he is pleased like an athlete / running his race. | His sin twists him; / there are traps along the way; / he asks for a west wind, / and the east wind blows on him. | He knows he will never / with his strengths and his understanding / raise his standard, / nor will he depart, nor follow his path. | He turns to give thanks / with a trembling soul / but out of exhaustion / he screams in a bitter voice: || *Whither shall I go from thy spirit? Whither shall I flee from thy presence?* (Ps. 139.7)

The waves roar / with the turning of wheels; / they are thick and insignificant / on the surface of the sea. | The heavens darken, / the waters redden, / the depths rise up, / their crests mount; | the eddies boil, / the clamour resounds, / with no one to subdue / the fierce din. | The strong weaken, / the waters cleave in two, / half are valleys, / the other half mountains. | The vessel, aching, / goes up and down, / eyes search for / the helmsmen, where are they. | My heart is at peace, / I wait upon the Saviour, / as in the hands of Moses, / Aaron and Miriam.

| I invoke my Lord, / I fear for my faults, / that my entreaties will not / be a burden. || *Whither shall I go from thy spirit? Whither shall I flee from thy presence?* (Ps. 139.7)
 The sea grows rough / and intensifies, it creaks / the masts and / the wind splatters its foam. | Their pride is vanquished, / their captain panics, / the mast is sapped / from unfurling the sails. | It boils without fire, / the heart despairs, / while irritated by / the oar of its rowers. | Its pilots falter, / the crew is drained, / its sailors dazed, / the watch blinded. | The boat, like a drunkard / who staggers and sneers / peddles for free / to those who dwell inside. | There is Leviathan, / powerful in the boundless seas / reciting the Kaddish like a bridegroom / to the banquet guests. | The hand of the ocean / wants to bring them in. / No refuge remains / nor escape route. || *Whither shall I go from thy spirit? Whither shall I flee from thy presence?* (Ps. 139.7)

My eyes blur / before You, Lord / my supplications / like an offering I present. | I fear for my life, / I tremble underfoot. / The cry of the son of Amittai / I offer to You. | Remembering the Red Sea / which is never forgotten, / with pleasure and passion / I write a poem; | the miracles of the Jordan / with them I am satisfied / and as in Eden / I widen my heart | to whoever sweetens the bitterness, / who comes to the aid / on a day of rage and irritation / and the day of the waters of Meribah. | Both eyes / on the God of the Heavens / who opens a way / in the rough waters. | The heat of His Earth / comes from His rage / and with His breath / He gives us ice. || *Whither shall I go from thy spirit? Whither shall I flee from thy presence?* (Ps. 139.7)

He withdrew his rage / from the son of His slave girl / and his soul / saved from Sheol. | The heights wanted / to make peace / with the abysses / and the terrified

scream ceased. | The jealous waters / He made tallow /
the fear dispersed / and the anguish concluded. | The af-
flicted heard / the angel of mercy, / from on high, / the
sound of footfalls. | Thus the good news shall be given /
to the people oppressed in captivity / with the hostile
hand and castigation / weighing on them. | She who is
roughed up and humiliated / is like the vessel, / she will
once again hear / a song of thanksgiving. | Go out,
daughter of my faithful, / of my tenebrous clouds, / be-
cause the glory of the Lord / towers over you. || *Whither
shall I go from thy spirit? Whither shall I flee from thy pres-
ence?* (Ps. 139.7)

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TRANSCRIPTION GUIDE

Arabic

No hyphen is used between the definite article and name.

Consonants

Arabic	Judaeo-Arabic	Transcription
أ	א	'*
ب	ב	b
ت	ת	t
ث	ת̣	ṭ
ج	ג	ǧ
ح	ח	ħ
خ	خ̣	ħ̣
د	ד	d
ذ	ד̣	ḍ
ر	ר	r
ز	ז	z
س	ס	s
ش	ש	š
ص	ص̣	ṣ̣
ض	ض̣	ḏ̣
ط	ט	ṭ
ظ	ט̣	ṭ̣
ع	ע	'
غ	ג	g
ف	פ	f
ق	ק	q
ك	כ	k
ل	ל	l
م	מ	m

ن	נ	n
ه	ה	h
و	ו	w
ي	י	y

*Initial *alif* is not represented.

Long Vowels

Arabic	Judaeo-Arabic	Transcription
ا	א	ā
و	ו	ū
ي	י	ī

Short Vowels

<i>ḍamma</i>	u
<i>fatha</i>	a
<i>kasra</i>	i

Hebrew

Consonants

א	א*
ב	b
ב	<u>b</u>
ג	g
ד	d
ה	h
ו	w
ז	z
ח	<u>ḥ</u>
ט	ṭ
י	y
כ	k

כ	k
ל	l
מ	m
נ	n
ס	ś
ע	ʿ
פ	p
ף	f
צ	ṣ
ק	q
ר	r
ש	š
ת	t

*Initial *alef* is not represented.

Of the *bgd kpt* set, only the fricatives *bkp* are distinguished with diacritics.

Vowels

Vowel length is only represented in the case of the simple vocalic *šěwa*ʾ and its compounds.

<i>qameṣ, pataḥ</i>	a
<i>šere, segol</i>	e
<i>ḥireq</i>	i
<i>ḥolem</i>	o
<i>šureq, qibbuṣ</i>	u
vocalic <i>šěwa</i> ʾ	ě
<i>ḥatef pataḥ</i>	ǎ
<i>ḥatef segol</i>	ě
<i>ḥatef qameṣ</i>	ǒ

GLOSSARY

- ‘*adb*’: the first letter of the *watid* is eliminated in the foot מַפְאֵטֶן.
- ‘*ağz*’: last hemistich of the classical verse, traditionally known as *soger* in Hebrew.
- ‘*aql*’: the fifth consonant of the foot is eliminated when it is vocalised.
- aqra*‘: ‘bald’—a *muwaššah* is ‘bald’ when lacks a prelude (*maṭla*‘).
- ‘*aqš*’: *qašm* + *kaff*.
- a’rağ*‘: ‘lame’—one *qufl* segment of the *muwaššah* is double, while the other is single.
- ‘*arūd*’: 1. the science that distinguishes good verses from bad, and identifies what modifications and irregularities affect them.
2. the last foot of the first hemistich (*şadr*) in a classical verse.
- ‘*aşb*’: the vocalised fifth consonant of the foot remains quiescent.
- baħr* (pl. *buhūr*): metres (‘seas’), the specific measures to which a poet conforms his creation. The classical system attributes the following 15 metres to Alḥalīl: *ṭawīl*, *madīd*, *basīt*, *wāfir*, *kāmīl*, *hazağ*, *rağaz*, *ramal*, *sari*‘, *munsariħ*, *ħafīf*, *muḍāri*‘, *muqtaḍab*, *muğtaṭ*, and *mutaqārib*.
- basīt*: classical metre consisting of מַפְאֵטֶן מְסֻמָּן × 2 in each hemistich.
- batr*: at the end of the foot, the *sabab ħafīf* is eliminated (*ħadf*), then the final quiescent consonant is eliminated, and the final vocalised consonant is left quiescent (*qaṭ*‘).
- bayt* (pl. *abyāt*): verse, or sequence of feet closing with a rhyme that must be repeated throughout the entire composition.

ḥaḏw: the vowel that precedes *ridf*.

ḥafīf: classical metre consisting of פאטלאַתן לן מסתפּע לן פאטלאַתן × 1 in each hemistich.

ḥarġa (pl. *ḥaraġāt*): a final refrain that closed and governed the structure of the *muwaššah*, which can be found in dialectal Arabic, classical Arabic, Hebrew, or Romance.

ḥarb: *ḥarm* + *kaff*.

ḥarm: the first letter of the first foot is eliminated from each hemistich.

ḥašw: the ‘filling feet’ that precede the ‘*arūd*’ and ‘*ḏarb*’ in a classical verse.

hazaġ: classical metre consisting of מפאטעלן × 3 per hemistich.

ḥazl: *iḏmār* + *ṭayy*.

ḥazm: one letter—and in some cases even two—are added to the beginning of the verse.

ḥurūġ: a vocalised lengthening letter that follows a vocalised *heʿ wašl*.

iḏmār: the second vocalised consonant of the foot remains quiescent.

iġāza: *rawā* is replaced by a corresponding consonant in the alphabet.

ikfāʿ: *rawā* is replaced by a consonant with the same articulation point.

‘*ilāl*’: the feet that occupy the position corresponding to the ‘*arūd*’ and ‘*ḏarb*’ undergo specific modifications, which must be preserved throughout the entire poem.

iq'ād: in one part of the *qasida*, one *'arūḏ* is used, and in another part, a different *'arūḏ* from the same metre (only occurs in the *kāmīl* metre).

iqwā': a *rawā* vowel (*mağrā*) that alternates between /u/ and /i/ in the same *qasida* is changed.

išbā': the vowel of *daḥīl*.

iṣrāf: a *rawā* vowel (*mağrā*) that alternates between /a/ and /u/ in the same *qasida* is changed.

itā': the word that carries the rhyme is repeated, retaining its form and meaning, throughout the *qasida*.

kāmīl: classical metre consisting of $\text{לְפָנַיִם} \times 3$ per hemistich.

kaff: the seventh consonant of the foot is eliminated when it is quiescent.

kašf: the seventh vocalised consonant of the foot is eliminated.

madīd: classical metre consisting of $\text{לְפָנַיִם} \text{ לְפָנַיִם} \times 2$ in each hemistich.

mafrūq: infixes are added to the verses of a *muwaššah* as metrical extensions.

mağrā: the vowel of *rawā*.

mağzū': a verse that eliminates the final foot from both hemistichs.

makbūl: when the *ḏarb* in *rağaz* metre accepts the *ḥabn* modification.

manhūk: a verse that eliminates four feet and preserves only two, or four, depending on the metre.

mar'ūs: prefixes are added to the verses of a *muwaššah* as metrical extensions.

mašṭūr: a verse that eliminates a complete hemistich.

maṭla': prelude of a complete (*tāmm*) *muwaššah*.

maʿutalaf: second metrical circle or sphere, which includes the classical *wāfir* and *kāmil* metres and the innovated *mutawfir* metre.

mišqal Dunaš: *mustaṭil*.

mišqal hatēnuʿot: *daff annafūs*.

muʿāraḍa: literary device consisting of sending a composition to another writer, who had to reproduce the metre and rhyme of the original composition in his response; in the case of a *muwaššah*, the recipient had to use the same *ḥarḡa*.

muḍaffar: two stichs of a *muwaššah* with at least one internal rhyme.

muḍāri': classical metre consisting of $\text{מפאטילן פאט לאתן מפאטילן} \times 1$ in each hemistich.

mudawwar: a verse that consists of a single foot.

muḍayyal: suffixes are added to the verses of a *muwaššah* as metrical extensions.

muḍmar: all the feet of *kāmil* metre are modified with *iḍmār*; in this case, the original form of the foot (מתפאטילן) must appear in the poem at least once, so that the metre is not confused with *raḡaz*.

muḍrad: two stichs of a *muwaššah* with a single final rhyme.

muḡannaḥ: both prefixes and infixes are added to the verses of a *muwaššah* as metrical extensions.

muḡarrad: 'stripped'—the verses of a *muwaššah* conform to the metre chosen by the poet, without metrical extensions.

muḡtalab: third metrical circle or sphere, which includes the classical *hazaḡ*, *raḡaz*, and *ramal* metres.

muḡtat: classical metre consisting of $\text{מְסַתְפֵּעַ לְן פִּאֲעֵלְאֲתָן פִּאֲעֵלְאֲתָן} \times 1$ in each hemistich.

muḡhalla': *ḏarb* and 'arūd are both modified by *ḥabn* and *qat*' in a *maḡzū*' verse of the *basīṭ* metre.

muḡhammas: the verse is divided into five segments.

muḡhdaṭ: *daff annafūs*.

muḡhmal: metrical forms innovated after Alḡalīl.

muḡhtalaf: first metrical circle or sphere, which includes the classical *ṭawīl*, *madīd*, and *basīṭ* metres and the innovated *muṣ-taṭīl* and *muṣtadd* metres.

muḡhtara': *daff annafūs*.

muṣtadd: innovated metre consisting of $\text{מְפִאֲעֵלְן פִּאֲעֵלְאֲתָן} \times 2$ in each hemistich.

muṣsarīd: innovated metre consisting of $\text{מְפִאֲעֵלְן מְפִאֲעֵלְן פִּאֲעֵלְאֲתָן} \times 1$ in each hemistich, also known as *qarīb*.

muṣsarīḥ: classical metre consisting of $\text{מְסַתְפֵּעַ לְן מְפִעֻלְאֲתָן מְסַתְפֵּעַ לְן} \times 1$ in each hemistich.

muḡayyada: rhyme with quiescent *rawā*.

muḡayyada mu'asasa: quiescent *rawā* that repeats *alef ta'sīs* throughout the composition.

muḡayyada muḡarrada: 'naked'—quiescent *rawā* that does not repeat either *ta'sīs* or *ridf*.

muḡayyada muradafa: quiescent *rawā* that repeats the consonant *ridf* throughout the composition.

muḡtaḡḡab: classical metre consisting of $\text{מְפִעֻלְאֲתָן מְסַתְפֵּעַ לְן מְסַתְפֵּעַ לְן} \times 1$ in each hemistich.

murabba': the verse is divided into four segments.

muraṣṣaʿ: all the segments of a *muwašṣaḥ* verse have internal rhymes.

musabbaʿ: the verse is divided into seven segments.

musaddas: the verse is divided into six segments.

mušākil: *muṭṭarid*.

musammaṭ: use of internal rhymes within the verse but maintaining the final rhyme throughout the poem.

mušaṭṭar: the segments of a *muwašṣaḥ* (*ḡuṣn* or *simṭ*) have one stich.

mustaʿmal: metrical forms codified by Alḥalīl.

muštabaḥ: fourth metrical circle or sphere, which includes the classical *sarīʿ*, *munsariḥ*, *ḥafīf*, *muḍārīʿ*, *muqtaḍab*, and *muḡtaṭ* metres, and the innovated *mutaʿʿid*, *munsarid*, and *muṭṭarid* metres.

muštabih: composition where it is difficult to identify the metre.

mustaṭīl: innovated metre consisting of $\text{מפאעילן פעולן} \times 2$ in each hemistich, which can be called *mišqal Dunaš* in Hebrew.

mutadārak: innovated metre consisting of $\text{פאעלן} \times 4$ in each hemistich.

mutaʿʿid: innovated metre consisting of $\text{לן פאעלאַתן פאעלאַתן מסתפּע} \times 1$ in each hemistich, also known as *ḡarīb*.

muṭallaṭ: the verse is divided into three segments.

muʿtamad: *mutawafir*.

muṭamman: the verse is divided into eight segments.

mutaqārib: classical metre consisting of $\text{פעולן} \times 4$ in each hemistich.

mutawafir: innovated metre consisting of $\text{פאעלאַתן} \times 3$ per hemistich, also known as *muʿtamad*.

mutawāfit: *ḡuṣn* and *qufl* are symmetrical in the syllabic computation, i.e., both single or both double, as opposed to *a'raḡ*.

muṭlaqa: rhyme with vocalised *rawā*.

muṭlaqa mu'asasa: vocalised *rawā* and *alef ta'sis* repeats throughout the composition; can be closed by *he'*.

muṭlaqa muḡarrada: 'naked'—vocalised *rawā* that does not repeat either *ta'sis* or *ridf*.

muṭlaqa muradafa: vocalised *rawā* and *ridf* repeats throughout the composition; can be closed by *he'*.

muttafaq: fifth metrical circle or sphere, which only includes the classical *mutaqārib* metre and the innovated *mutadāarak* metre.

muṭṭarid: innovated metre consisting of פאטלאַרן מִפּאַטֵילן מִפּאַטֵילן $\times 1$ in each hemistich, also known as *mušākil*.

muwaffā: the first two hemistichs of the poem rhyme, but without the *'arūḏ* adopting the form of the *ḏarb*.

muwaššah (pl. *muwaššahāt*): literary genre originating in Alandalus; these poems are generally made up of five strophes or verses written in classical Arabic, the last of which finishes with the *ḥarḡa*.

muzdawiḡ: the segments of a *muwaššah* (*ḡuṣn* or *simṭ*) have two stichs.

muzdūḡ: in *raḡaz* metre, the poet makes the *'arūḏ* and *ḏarb* in each verse rhyme independently.

naffād: the vowel of a *he' waṣl* that follows *rawā*.

naqṣ: *'aṣb* + *kaff*.

nutfa: a composition that consists of two verses.

pizmon: *qufl*.

qabḏ: the fifth consonant of the foot is eliminated when it is quiescent.

qarīb: *munsarid*.

qarīb mutadārif: *daff annafūs*.

qasida: any composition that consists of more than seven verses.

qaṣm: ‘*aḏb* + ‘*aṣb*.

qaṣr: in a foot ending in *sabab*, the final quiescent consonant is eliminated, and the vocalised consonant that precedes it is left quiescent.

qaṭʿ: in a foot ending in *watid*, the final quiescent consonant is eliminated, and the vocalised consonant that precedes it is left quiescent.

qaṭf: the *sabab ḥafif* and the preceding vowel are eliminated at the end of the foot.

qifāya: rhyme, or group of consonants and vowels that closes a verse.

qiṭʿa: a short composition consisting of between three and six verses.

qufl (pl. *aqfāl*): ‘refrain’—the last section of a *muwašṣah* verse.

rağaz: classical metre consisting of $\text{מְסַתְפֵּעַל} \times 3$ per hemistich.

ramal: classical metre consisting of $\text{פֶּאֶעְלֵאֲתָן} \times 3$ per hemistich.

ras: the vowel that precedes *alef taʿsīs*.

rawā: the letter that ends the verse and repeats throughout the composition.

ridf: lengthening or weak letter that precedes *rawā*.

sabab ḥafif: sequence of two letters, the first vocalised and the second quiescent, traditionally known as *tənuʿa* in Hebrew.

sabab taqīl: sequence of two vocalised letters.

taḍmīn: the rhyme connects syntactically with the first stich of the following verse.

taḍyīl: a quiescent consonant is added to the end of a foot that ends with *watid*.

taḥrīd: in one part of the *qasida*, one *ḍarb* is used, and in another part, a different *ḍarb* from the same metre.

ṭalm: the first letter of the first foot פטולן in *mutaqārib* metre is eliminated from each hemistich.

tāmm: 1. a verse that preserves all its full feet. 2. a *muwašṣaḥ* with prelude (*maṭla*).

tarfīl: two consonants, one vocalised and one quiescent, are added to the end of a foot that ends with *watid*.

ṭarm: ḥarm + qabḍ.

taš'īt: the first letter of the *watid* is eliminated.

tasbiḡ: a quiescent consonant is added to the end of a foot that ends with *sabab*.

tašrī': *arūd* and *ḍarb* rhyme, sharing the same rhyme and foot type, in both hemistichs at the beginning of the poem; later, the metre adopts the expected form, beginning with the second or third verse.

tawḡīh: the vowel that precedes *rawā* when it is quiescent.

ṭawīl: classical metre consisting of פטולן מפאטולן × 2 in each hemistich.

ṭayy: the fourth consonant of the foot is eliminated when it is quiescent.

těnu'a: *sabab ḥafīf*.

wāfī: a verse that preserves all its feet with modifications.

wāfir: classical metre consisting of מפאטולן × 3 per hemistich.

waqf: the seventh vocalised consonant of the foot is left quiescent.

waqs: the second vocalised consonant of the foot is eliminated.

wasīt: *mustaṭīl*.

waṣl: a lengthening letter that follows *rawā*, by which its vowel is lengthened.

watid mafrūq: sequence of three letters, two vocalised separated by one quiescent.

watid maḡmūʿ: sequence of three letters, two vocalised and one quiescent, traditionally known as *yated* in Hebrew.

wazn (pl. *awzān*): measures or variants of the metres resulting from the application of modifications (*ʿilāl*).

yated: *watid maḡmūʿ*.

yatīm: a composition that consists of an isolated verse.

ziḥāf: modifications to the filling (*ḥašw*) feet.

SCANNED VERSES (ALPHABETICAL ORDER)

אָבְקַת בְּשָׁמַיִם מַעֲשֵׂה רוֹקַח אוּ מַפְאֵת אַח מֶר דְּרוֹר נוֹפֵחַ
אֲדוּנֵי קַהְלוֹת וְאֲדוּנֵי תַהְלוֹת מְפִיצִים תַהְלוֹת לְכָל אֹר מְבִישִׁים
אֲדַרְשׁ יְדִידִים נוֹלְדוּ עִמִּי בְדוֹר אֶחָד וְאֵינָם
אֶהְלֵל אֲשֶׁר אֵין לוֹ דְמוּת וּתְמוּנָה
אָחוּס בְּנֵד דוּדֵי וְאוֹכִיחוּ בְשׁוּבוֹ אֶהְבֵּה מִסְתַּרְתּוֹת וְתוֹכַחַת חֲשׂוּפָה
אֲחַנּוּ וְיִקְשֶׁה וְאֶהֱב וְיִשְׁנָא וְאֶעַן אֶמַת בּוֹ וְשׂוֹא יַעֲנֶה בִּי
אַחַר גְּלוּת סוּד מָה אֶטְמִין כּוֹס מִשְׁמָאל דוּד מִיְמִין אִישׁ רִיב חֲדַל בְּךָ לֹא אֶאֱמִין רַק
אַשְׁמְאִילָה אִם תִּימִין אִם אֶת רְגִיל שְׁמַחָה וְגִיל עֵדֶן וְגִלְעָד רֵאֶה נְגִדִי לֹא אֶאֱבֵל בְּיוֹם
אַבֵּל בְּטוֹב אַבֵּל כָּל יְמֵי חֻלְדִּי
אַחֲרֵי בְלוֹתָה הֵיטָה עֲדָנָה לְאִם פְּרוּד וְלִדֵּי תַאֲוָה יַעֲגְבוּ
אַיֶּה כְבוֹד הָאֵל וּמוֹרָאוֹ כִּי אִם בְּיַד אֶהְרֵן מְקַרְאוֹ
אַיֶּה יִכְבֶּה מִי דְמַעֵי שְׁבִיבֵי אִיךָ וְעֵינֵי הַצִּבִּי נִלְחַמוּ בִּי
אַיֶּה תִשְׁמַעוּ קוֹלִם בְּגִנַּת אֲגוּז הוֹלֵךְ וְלֹא תִשְׁתּוּ וְלֹא תִחַדּוּ
אַיֶּה אַכֵּס מִמֶּה חֲטָאִי וְהֵן עֲרוּד שְׂאוֹל אֶף זְבוּל נְגִדִי
אַכּוּ מִיְדַעֵי זְנַחְתַּנִּי מֵאֵד עַד כִּי קִרְאתִיךָ אֲבִי זְנוּחַ
אַל תִּאֱמֵן לְבִי בְּאַנְשֵׁי הַזְּמַן אַחַר בְּגַד רַע חֲשַׁבְתִּיו נֶאֱמַן
אַל תִּאֲנַף בִּי צְבִי עַד כֹּלֵה הַפְּלֵא רְצוֹנְךָ יְדִידִי הַפְּלֵא וְנִשְׁק יְדִידְךָ וְחַפְצוֹ מִלֵּא אִם
יֵשׁ בְּנַפְשְׁךָ חַיּוֹת חַיִּינִי אוּ חַפְצְךָ לְהַרְגֵּ הַרְגִּי
אַלִּיכֶם אֲמוּנִים בְּחִיק הָאֲמוּנִים מְתֵי רַעִיוֹנִים כְּבָרְק לְטוֹשִׁים
אִם אֶהְלִי דוּדֵי בְּנַפְשִׁי צַעֲנוּ אִיכָה בְּתוֹחַלְתִּי בְעִרְסִי טַעֲנוּ
אִם סָגַר אֵל שְׁעָרֵי פְלוּל שְׁעָרֵי דְמַעָה לֹא נִנְעֵלוּ
אִם תַּעֲרִים אֵל תֵּט מֵאֵד כִּי אִם לְדַעַת תִּאֲוֹתְךָ
אִם תִּפְגְּשֶׁה תִּלְאָה תִשֵּׁם בְּלֶבְךָ כּוֹיָה
אַמֵּר לְבַבִּי הֲכִי עַל רְצוֹן אֵל נִבְרָא וְלֹא עַל רְצוֹנוֹ וְהוֹדָה

אָנוֹשׁ יִרְאֶה בְּעֵין לְבוֹ אַמּוֹנָה בְּלִי יִלְדִיו וְהַשִּׁיג מֵאֲוִיו
 אָנָּה פְּנוּתָךְ אֶתְּ וְהַיּוֹם מֵאֵד פְּנָה וְתִבְלֵ רְאִי לֹלֵא אֹרֶךְ כְּמוֹ עֵיפָה
 אָנִי אֶרְאֶךְ עֶפְרַיִם וְיִדִּיב לְבָבְךָ בְּעֵינָיו כְּעֵינֶיךָ לְבָבִי מְדִיבוֹת
 אֶרְאֶה לְךָ הֶדֶר כְּשֶׁמֶשׁ זָהָרָו וְיִקָּר כְּרִקִיעַ יִהְלֹו סְהָרָו
 אֶרְךָ גְּלוּתִי בְּעַנְיִי וְדִלוּתִי וְהַנְּנִי אֵילוּתִי מִגְּלָה לְךָ רִיבִי
 אֵשׁ אֶהְבִּים נִשְׁקָה בִּי וְאִיךָ אֶתְאַפְקָה
 אֵשׁ נְדוּדִים לְנוּד יְדִידִים עֲצָמִי יֶאֱבָלוּ
 אֶשְׁבְּעָה מְדִי אֲדַבֵּר בָּם עַדִּי נִשְׁף נְדוּדִים
 אֶשׁוּט כְּהֶלֶךְ עָלַי גִּבְעַת לְבוֹנָה וְאֲדַבֵּיק אֶת לְחִי אֵלַי מִדְּרָךְ הַלִּיכִיכִי
 אֶשׁוּרְנָה וְאֶפְנֶה לְאַחֲרָי כְּאֵלוֹ לֹא אָנִי רַעָה יְדִידָה

בָּאוּ חֲרוּזִים לֹא קָרְאָם רַעִיּוֹן נִקְרָה בְּפִי נִקְרוּ וְלֹא נִקְרָאוּ
 בּוֹ כָּל כָּאֵב נִכְחָד בּוֹ יַעֲבֵר זַעַם כִּי הוּא בְּרֹאשׁ כָּל גִּיל וְרוֹן יַחַד אֲמָנָם נְדִיב הָעָם
 הֵיטִיב חֲרַשׁ אוֹתוֹ דְּמוֹת פֶּחַד דְּבַק אֵלַי פַּעַם גְּזֵרַת בְּרוּשׁ גְּמוּל בְּחִיק יוֹבֵל אָמַר הָכִי
 יוֹבֵל הוּא פּוֹעֵלִי יִפִּיק לְלֵב אֶבֶל עַל הַנְּדוּד סָבֵל מְשׁוֹשׁ וְלִי
 בְּזָה זְמַן בּוֹגֵד וְאֵל תִּאֲמִין בְּשִׁחְקוֹ לְךָ אוֹ בַּעַת יִבְכֶּה
 בְּזִכְרִי עַל מִשְׁכָּבִי זְדוֹן לְבִי וְאֶשְׁמִיו וְאֶקוּמָה וְאֶבּוֹאָה לְבֵית אֵלַי וְהִדְמִיו וְאֶמְרָה
 בְּנִשְׂאִי עֵין בְּתַחֲנוּנִים אֵלַי שְׁמִיו נִפְלֵה־נָּא בִּידְלִי כִּי־רַבִּים רַחֲמָיו
 בְּחַזוֹתִי בְּנִי יַעֲנִים מְעוּנִים יַחְבְּלוּ
 בְּטוֹב אֶשֶׁר יִמִּיר זְמַן רַע בְּטוֹב בְּטַח וְאִם יִתְמַהֲמַה חֲכָה
 בְּיַד אֵל אֶתָּה אָנָּה תִּפְנֶה וְאִין לְךָ לְבָרַח מְדִינָיו
 בְּכַח חֲכָמוֹתָיו וּמְעוֹז עֲרָמוֹתָיו וְרַב תַּחֲבֻלָּתָיו בְּחֻלְק מֵאֲמָרִים
 בְּכָל לֵב אֶהְבִּים לְךָ וְלִבְךָ כְּמוֹ צִרוּר וְכָל פֶּה יְדַבֵּר בְּךָ וְאֶת תַּתְּנִי דָמִי
 בְּיַמִּי שֶׁר אוֹתוֹ בַּחַר אֱלֹהִים מִכָּל עַמִּים תֵּאֵזֶר מִשְׁרָתוֹ שְׁבַעָה כְּאֹזֶר שְׁבַעַת הַיָּמִים
 הַבְּדִיל אֵל בֵּיתוֹ לְהִיּוֹת לְפָנָיו בֵּית עוֹלָמִים חֲסִיד אִם אָמַר חֲסִד מֵהֲרָה אָמַר גָּמַר
 בְּךָ חֲשָׁקָה מִשְׁרָה לְדָרְךָ מְרוֹם רִכְבָּה בְּךָ אוֹתָהּ חֲכָמָה יוֹסֵם תִּקְרָא לָהּ כָּל צְפוּן לְבָהּ
 לְךָ גְּלִתָּה לֹא כַחֲשֵׁק עֶפְרָה יוֹסֵם דּוּד יְדַבֵּר בָּהּ שְׂוֹא עֲנָתָה חֲבִיבִי קֵד יִרְחַל וְעַאֲד לֹם
 יְנַזֵּל וְאִי צָבֵר לִי לֹא בַד לִי אֵן אַחְמַל אוֹ אִישׁ עֲסֵא יַעֲמַל מִן קֵד בְּלִי
 בַּעַת חֲשֵׁק יַעֲרִנִי אֲדַלֵּג כְּאֵיל לַחֲזוֹת עֵינֵי כְבוֹדָה

בקראי אליך שמע כי עליך יעזב חלדך יה צור עלמים
 בקרב תפלת מנחה ואני לבדי נבדל
 בשם אל אשר אמר והעז לאמרוותיו וצוה בלי מורה ומורה למצותיו
 גביר גבור מלך הביאו כהלך ומחזיק בפלד לעם הם לו צרים
 גרש מגלה סוד חברים מתוך חברה למרחוק ואז תנוח
 דברו לו על שמי את ארשת נאמי אל דמי לך אל דמי מדוה לב רחקה אהוה
 שנתקה
 דברו נא לבת מלכים כבודה האמונה עלי קציעות וקדה
 דודי אשר לבי בעיניו החליא איך העבדתני ואתה גואלי
 דודי ידיד נפשי אתה צרי מכאוב ולכל חלי את כתעלה וכתרופה
 דלו עיני נגדך אדני ואת תחנוני שי אשיבה אחרד לעתי וארגז תחתי וקול בן אמתי
 לך אקריבה בזכרי ים סוף אשר לא יסוף ערב וכסוף שיר איטיבה ונוראות ירדן בם
 אתעדן וכמו בעדן לב ארחיבה לממתיק מרה והופך לעזרה יום אף ועברה יום מי
 מריבה והעינים לאל שמים נותן במים עזים נתיבה חם אדמתו מחמתו ומנשמתו
 יתן קרח אנה אלך מרותך ואנה מפניך אברח:
 דמע ישחה את משכבי הפלא למאד את מכאובי ולגוד יצחק רב ולבבי קירוותיו
 תוגות תקרינה ותבאנה אל קרבינה
 דעה לבי חכמה ובינה ומזמה נצר דרכי ערמה שמע המוסרים
 האל גדל עז תמים תבונה מאין דמות לו ולא תמונה מחקר פלאיו והתכונה חכמי
 חרשים מחרישים ונבון לחשים
 הארץ פלם נגדו בקול רנה יצהלו ונזירי עולם מגיל נזירותם יגעלו וכסבאים קולם
 ישאו ועל שפר ישאלו סכראן יא עיאר ואין אלטריק לי דאר אלכמאר
 הבה אכבה אש כסף בי נשקה בגלל יוסף נכבד לכל מחמד אסף אדר יקר וצור
 כסף בור בעליל צרוף פליל צדק כליל כל מתי חלדי זך מעלל אשא שלל רן מהלל
 לו ימי חלדי
 הה איש חמדות בעפר נעצר אחרני אשר המארות עצר חדלו חסדים כאלו אצר
 גשם נדבות ולא נזלו לראות מאוריו ולא יהלו

הוא יצחק השׁר אגן אֲשֶׁר מִזְג לא יחסר אֶד מִזְג מוסר השׁכֵּל לְחִיּוֹת בּו כָּל בְּשֶׁר
 ההוא שֶׁנִּמְסַר לְאֵל לְבָדוֹ לְהִיּוֹת טַפְסֵר וּבְחֶרְבוֹ זָמַר כָּל זָד עָלַי עִמּוֹ יִתְאַמֵּר
 הוֹדוּ יִתְנֶה הַמּוֹן שְׂרָפִים כְּלֵם לְמֵאוֹת וְלֵאֲלָפִים הַנְּאֻמָּנִים וְלֹא חֲנֻפִים כִּי לֹא יִגְעִים
 כְּאֻנְשִׁים הַנְּחַלְשִׁים

הִידִידִים יִשְׁתִּיּוּן לָד מִקְצָה כּוֹס לְקִצְהוֹ וְאִתָּה תִּחְצָה

הִיָּה לְבָבִי סִחְרַחַר מֵרַב כְּאֲבִי וְאוֹנִי

הִירְצָה יְדִידִי וְהוּא יִחְשַׁב אֶת רְצוֹנִי כְּקִצְפִי וְטוֹבִי כְּחוּבִי

הִלֵּא נְפִלְאוֹת עָלֶיכֶם הַשְׁחוּרָה אֲשֶׁר הָיוּ שְׁחָרִים לָהּ לְבָנִים

הִלֵּא תַעֲנֵנִי בַהֲמוֹתֵי בְלִי דְמִי בְשֶׁלְמִי הִרְעוֹת לְעַבְדְּךָ בְשֶׁלְמִי

הִלְבְּבוֹת נִתְקוּ יִזְעָקוּ יִתְחַבְּקוּ וְלְבָבִי דָחְקוּ לְחַבֵּק נִתְחַבְּקָה גְדַבְּקָה נִתְנַשְׁקָה

הִלְעֵד אֲנִי שׁוֹכֵן בְּאֵהֶל כְּמוֹ עֶרֶב וְתַחַת יְרִיעָה כָּל יְמוֹתַי מְדוּרִי

הִמּוֹ גָלִים בְּרוּץ גְּלָגִלִים וְעֵבִים וְקִלִּים עַל פְּנֵי הַיָּם קָדְרוּ שְׁמִי יִחְמְרוּ מִימִי וְעָלוּ

תְּהוֹמִי וְנִשְׂאוּ דְכָיִם וְסִיר יִרְתִּיחַ וְקוֹל יִצְרִיחַ וְאִין מִשְׁבִּיחַ לְהַמּוֹן קְשִׁים וְרַפּוֹ חֲזָקִים

נְחַלְקוּ אֲפִיקִים חֲצִים עֲמָקִים וְהָרִים חֲצִים הָאֲנִי חוֹלָה יְרֵדָה וְעוֹלָה וְעֵין תּוֹלָה

לְחַבְלִים אִים וְלִבִּי מִחֻשָּׁה אֶקְוֶה לְמִמְשָׁה כְּעַל יַד מִשָּׁה אֶהֱרֵן וּמְרִים אֶקְרֵא אֲדַנִּי

אִירָא עוֹנִי פֶן תַּחֲנוּנֵי יִהְיוּ טֶרַח אֲנָה אֲלֵד מְרוּחָד וְאֲנָה מִפְּגִיף אֶבְרַח:

הַז לְבָבִי סֵר וְנִמְהַר אֶחְרִימוּ כִּי מְנַהֵג בָּם לְהַכְעִים מִהֲרָמוּ

הִנֵּה אֲדַבֵּר לוֹ שְׁתִּים וְלֹא אוֹסִיף אוֹלִי יִשִּׁיבֵנִי עָלֶיהֶם בְּמוֹ אַחַת

הִנֵּה בְנוֹת עָגוּר אֲשֶׁר נוֹעְדוּ שְׂרוֹת עָלֵי פֵאוֹרוֹת וְלֹא לְמָדוּ

הִסֵּר לְבָבִי תִאֲוֹתְךָ כִּי עוֹד אֲמַלֵּא שְׁאֲלֶתְךָ

הִעֵט כְּחֵץ קִלְקֵל פָּנָיו בְּפִי וְיָאֵטַר פִּי מִן־שְׁלִים מִשִּׁים בְּכַף מִשְׁקָל מְלִיץ לְדַת מִשְׁטֵר

בוֹ נַעֲלִים רָכְבוּ כְנֶשֶׁר קַל לְקַחוּ כְּמוֹ מְטָר לְשׁוֹאֲלִים גְּבַה עֲדָה בְּגִלְל כִּי כָלְלָד מִכָּלֵל

יְפִי בְלִי דְפִי וְתַתְּהַלֵּל כִּי עַל גְּרוֹן מִהֲלֵל שְׁמֵךָ חֲלִי

הַשִּׁיב חֲמַתוֹ מִבֶּן אֲמַתּוֹ וְאֵת נִשְׁמַתּוֹ מִשְׂאוֹל פְּדָה וְרָצוּ מְרוֹמוֹת לַעֲשׂוֹת שְׁלוֹמוֹת

בֵּין הַתְּהוֹמוֹת וְאִין קוֹל חֲרָדָה וּמִימִי קִנְאָה הִפְדָּה לְחִמְאָה וְסִרָה יִרְאָה וְנִסָּה קִפְדָּה

וְשָׁמְעוּ עֲגוּמִים לְמִלְאָד רַחֲמִים מִן הַמְרוּמִים קוֹל הַצְּעָדָה כְּכָה יְבִשֶׁר עִם קֶץ בְּמֵאֶסֶר

וְיַד צֵר וּמוֹסֵר עָלָיו כְּבָדָה וְסִעְרָה עֲנִיָּה דְמַתָּה אֲנִיָּה תִשְׁמַע שְׁנִיָּה מִזְמוֹר לְתוֹדָה צְאִי

בַּת אֲמוֹנִי מֵאֶפֶל עֲנֵנִי כִּי כְבוֹד יִי עֲלֶיךָ זָרַח אֲנָה אֲלֵד מְרוּחָד וְאֲנָה מִפְּגִיף אֶבְרַח:

התְּכִין לְךָ חַצִּים שְׁנוּנִים בְּבָבוֹת עָלַי קִשְׁתוֹת עֲפֹפָה וְתוֹרָה לְבָבוֹת
וְאַבְאָה וְהֵן אִמָּה לְנִגְדָה וְאָבִיָּה וְאָחִיָּה וְדוֹדָה
וְאָהָב כְּבוֹד חֲכָמָה וְאֵל תְּאָהָב כְּבוֹד אֲדָר כְּסוּתָךְ
וְאוֹמֵר אֵל תִּישֵׁן שְׁתֵּה יֵין יֶשֶׁן וְכֹפֵר עִם שׁוֹשֵׁן וּמֵר עִם אֶהְלִים
וְאִזִּי עֲנִיתִיָּה אֵל תִּלְכִּי אֵל כִּי אוֹתוֹ בְּחִיתָךְ לֹא תִהְיֶי צוֹפֵה
וְאָמַר פֶּתַח פִּיךָ לְכָל נֶגֶשׁ וְכָל אִישׁ גַּעְנָה
וּבְנַפְל עָלַי עֵין תְּנוּמָה וְתִרְדָּמָה תְּעוֹפֵף שְׁנַת עֵינַי וְתִדְר תְּנוּמָתִי
וּבִשְׁתִּי בְּתוֹכְחָתִי וְכַמֵּת נִשְׁכַּחְתִּי בְּעִזְבִּי לְמִשְׁפַּחְתִּי וְאָחִי וּבֵית אָבִי
וְהֵם נִשְׁכִּים בְּשִׁנְיָהֶם וְאֶכֶן יִקְרָאוּ שְׁלוֹם
וְהַשְׁבִּיעוּם בְּאֵהָבַת דָּל וְחֹלָה כְּרָגַע לְעַמֵּד עָלַי בְּחִסְדָּם
וְיָם מִתְרוֹצֵץ וְקָדִים יְפוֹצֵץ אֲרָזִים וְיֹפֵץ רוּחַ קִצְפִּי שְׁחָה קָרְנָם וּנְבֵהֵל סָרְנָם וְנִלְאָה
תְּרָנָם לְפָרֵשׁ כְּנָפָיו יִרְתַּח בְּלִי אֵשׁ וְלֵב מִתִּיאֵשׁ בַּעַת הַתְּבֹאֵשׁ בְּמִשׁוֹט מְנִיפִיו דְּלִים
מִשְׁלִיו וְנִרְפִים סִבְלָיו וּבַעֲרִים חִבְלָיו וְעוֹרִים צוֹפְיוֹ הָאֲנִי כְּשֹׁכֵר יִתְעַתֵּעַ וְיִחְכֵר בְּלִי
הוֹן יִמְכּוֹר שְׁכֵנִי כִּתְפִּי וְזֶה לְוִיתָן בְּעַד יָם אֵיתָן יִקְדִּישׁ כְּחֹתָן לְמִשְׁתָּה אֲסוֹפְיוֹ וְיָד
אֲקִינּוֹס תְּאָהָב לְכִנּוֹס וְאֵבֵד מְנוֹס וְאֶפְסֵס מְבָרַח אָנָּה אֵלַי מְרוֹיַחָךְ וְאָנָּה מְפָנִיד אֶבְרָחָ:
וְכִרְחַק פֶּאת מְזֹרַח לִיד מְעַרְב רְחֵקוֹ מֵאֵד מִחֲשָׁבוֹת אִישׁ מְעוּזוֹ חֲשָׁבֹתָיו
וְכֹרֶת בְּרִית עִם אוֹהֲבֵי שְׁכָל וְאֵל תִּפְר בְּרִיתָךְ
וְלֹא יִדְמוּ תְּמִיד וְנוֹזְלִיָּהֶם עָלַי לְחֵי וְעַל פְּנֵי כְּמוֹ גֵד נֶצֶבו
וּמֵאֵהָבְתִי בְּךָ שִׁירֵי יְהוּדָךְ יִרְבֶּה דְּבַר צַחוֹת לֹא לַעֲנִי שְׁפָה
וּמִי יִדַע הִישְׁכַּל אוֹ הִיִּשְׁכַּל וְאִם יִחְיֶה וְאִם יָמוֹת בְּחַיִּי
וּמִשָּׁךְ הַשׁוֹטָה זְקִנְתוֹ טוֹטָה אֲשֶׁר הִיתָה עוֹטָה מְלוּכָה כְּגִבְרִים
וְנָהִי בְּאִיִּים נְפוּצִים וּבְזוּיִים וּמִשָּׁל בְּגוֹיִם מְנוּד רֹאשׁ בְּלֶאֱמִים
וְעֵלִית וְרַחֵק מְקוֹמְךָ עָדִי כִי חֲשָׁבוּךָ עָלַי רֹאשׁ שְׁחֻקִים צִפְרָה
וְעַמְלִי בְּדָתְךָ לִי מְנוּחָה אֲזַכְרָה חֲסִדְךָ וְאֲנִשָּׁה עַמְלִי
וּפַעַל וְעִשָּׂה כָל אֲשֶׁר אוֹתָה נִפְשׁוֹ וְהַחַל בְּלִי עֶזֶר וְכֹלָה פְּעוּלוֹתָיו
וְצָבִי בְּיָדוֹ פֶּסֶן יֵין וּבִשְׁתוֹתוֹ אֶרְאֶה דְמוּת שְׁמֵשׁ נִשְׁק לִירִיחַ
וּשְׁפָךְ בְּפִי בְּעַר דְּמֵי שְׁנָיו אִם יִשְׁפָךְ עָלַי שְׁנָיו דְּמֵי תַפּוּחַ

ותשפכי לְבַדְךָ כְּמוֹ מִים פָּנֵי עֲלִיּוֹן וְעַד אֵן מְכַאֵב תִּשְׁתּוֹלְלִי
 זָמַם אָגַג לַעֲשׂוֹת שֵׁם לַעֲמֶלֶק וְיָד עַל כֶּסֶם כְּמוֹ שֵׁם חֲבֵרוֹ אֶת שְׁמוֹ מִחֻקָּה
 זָמַן יִקְרָא עֲדִיו רְאוֹת מַעֲשֵׂי יְדִיו אֲשֶׁר הִמָּה עֲשִׂים
 כִּד נּוֹאֲשׁוּ הַלְּבָבוֹת מִנּוֹ וְחַד בְּמִרְאֵה חֲלוֹם אֲרָאֵנוּ זֶה אֲזַכְרֵנוּ וְזֶה אֵינָנוּ עֵינֵי עֲדִי
 אֵן
 חוֹלַת אֲהָבִים לִילָה בְּכַה תִּבְכֶּה וְדַמְעָתָה עָלֵי לְחִיָּה
 לְמָרוֹם דְּלוֹ אֵד בּוֹ אֱלֹהִים לְפָנֵי נִגְלוֹ
 חֲכָמָה אֲהָבִיו תִּבְעֵי בְּשִׁיר מְעֵנָה תּוֹדִיעַ בְּעֵבוֹר יְדִידָה תִּשְׁבִּיעַ צִיר שְׁלֻחָה לוֹ מִפְּגִיעַ
 בְּאַלְלָה רְסוּל קַל לְלַכְלִיל כִּיף אֶלְסָבִיל וַיְבִית עֲנָדִי כִלְף אֶלְחַגְמָל נַעֲטִיה דְּלֹאֵל עָלֵי
 אֶלְנִכְאֵל וְנִזִּיד נִהְדִי
 חֲכָמָה קְרָאתָהּוּ הֵימָן מִשָּׁה בְּכָל בֵּיתִי נֶאֱמָן לְךָ תַעֲנוּג שְׂדֵי זָמַן עִם חוּט שְׁפַת שְׁנֵי
 כְּמִן רְקִיק בְּלִיל נִפְתַּת כְּלִיל יִפִּי וְלֹאֲוֹת שְׁפַת מְדֵי הַתֵּר וְגַל שֵׁד קִם כְּגַל כְּשְׂדֵי שְׁגַל
 חֵן וְעֵשׂ דְּדִי
 חֲסִדְךָ אֲשֶׁבֶר בְּלִבְבִי מִתְגַּבֵּר וְלֹא-עוֹד אֲדַבֵּר צָעִיר אֲנִי לִימִים
 חֲצוֹת לִילָה לְךָ קָמוּ עֲבָדֶיךָ בְּמַהֲלָלִם זְכוֹת אָבוֹת זָכַר לָהֶם וְאֵל תִּפְן לְמַעֲלָלִם קְדוֹשׁ
 יַעֲקֹב רָאֵה עֲנִים וְאֵל תַּמּוּד כְּמַפְעֵלִם וְהַנְּשֵׂא אֵל עֲשֵׂה הַשְּׁלוֹם בְּמִרוֹמָיו נִפְלְאָ-נָא
 בִּידֵי-כִי-רַבִּים רַחֲמָיו
 חֲקַר תִּבּוֹנָה שְׁכַל סוּד סִתְרִיהָ גּוֹלָה וְנִפְזָרַת שְׁמָה מְאַסְפָּה
 טוֹב אֶהְלוֹ מִגֵּן בֵּיתֵן וּזְמַן בְּיָמָיו כְּחִתָּן אֵל קוֹל בְּחֵן עָלָיו נִתָּן לְהִיּוֹת בְּחֻכְמָה יִם אֵיתָן
 מְאִין גְּבוּל אֵז עַב זְבוּל תִּפְרָה יְבוּל כָּל עֲצֵי מְגִדֵי תִם יֶאֱהֵל דוּד עִם קַהֵל עַמִּי צֵהֵל
 לִין בְּמִרְבְּדֵי
 לְגִרְתִּי מִפְּנֵי שְׁמִים קִנְיָה וְלֹא-אֲמַצָּא מְעֵנָה שְׁפַתִּי נֶאֱלָמִים
 יְדִידוֹתֶם כְּבָרְק אוֹ בְּתַבֵּל נַחֲזָה כְּחֹלִים
 יְדִידֵי בְּפִרוּסִם לְבָבִי לְבָבוֹ וְנִפְשִׁי בְּהִרְחִיקִם וְעֵינֵי דָאֵבוֹ
 יוֹם דְּמַעֲמֵי נִגְרוֹ סוּד לְבָבִי הֶעֱרוּ מַה לְדוּדֵי תַאֲמָרוּ אֵין בְּדַמְעָה צִדְקָה לִי בְּמָה
 אֲצֻטְדָּקָה
 יוֹם מִפְּרָדוֹ לֹאֵל בְּגַלְלִיו אֶקְרָא לְכוֹנֵן אֶת מַעֲגָלָיו וּבְאַבְרָתוֹ יִסֵּד עָלָיו חִפְטֵ אֶלְלָה
 כִּלֵּא בֵאֵן וְרַעֲאֵה אֵין מֵא כֵאֵן

יום מרְכָבוֹת פְּרוּד לְמַסַּע רָתְמוֹ עָשׂוּ לְנַפְשֵׁי אֶת־אֲשֶׁר לֹא יִזְמוּ
 יוֹנָה אֵיךְ תִּדְמִי כִּי אֵיבְתִיךָ וְהִלֵּא אֶהְבַּת עוֹלָם אֶהְבַּתִּיךָ
 יוֹנָה עָלֶי בֶּן הַדָּס מָה לְךָ תְּקוּנִי הַאֵת יְחִידָה בְּלֹא דוּדָךְ כְּמוֹ אֲנִי
 יוֹנָה תְּקַנֶּנּוּ עַל אֲמִירֵיהֶּ יִמַר לְבָבִי לְאִמְרֵיהֶּ
 יוֹעֵץ וּמְקִים בְּמָרוֹם שִׁחֲקִים וְעַל יָם רְחוֹקִים צְדָקוֹ סָרַח לֹא לְאִישׁ דָּרְכוּ וְאִם אֵין
 יַחְדֵּי לֵב בּוֹ קְרִיבִים לִירְאָה שֵׁם אֱלֹהֶיךָ וְעַמְדִי לְפָנָיו
 יַחֲדוּ שְׂמוֹ בְּקֶר וְעָרַב צִלְצְלִיכֵל הַנְּשֻׁמָּה יְהִי תְהַלֵּל הַלְלִי
 כְּמִלְכוֹ שֶׁקָּר נִסְכוּ וְלָרִיק יִטְרַח עוֹלָה מְבוֹר יוֹם רַץ לְעֵבֶר יָם וְשֵׁשׁ כְּגִבּוֹר לְרוּץ אֶרֶח
 חֲטָאוֹ עֲקֹשׁ דָּרְכוּ בְּמוֹקֵשׁ וּמְעָרַב בְּקֵשׁ וְהִנֵּה מְזַרְח יָדַע כִּי לֹא בְּכַחוֹ וְשִׁכְלוֹ יַעֲמִיד
 דַּגְלוֹ וַיִּסַּע וַיֵּאָרַח אֲזִי שֵׁב וְהוֹדָה בְּנַפְשׁ חֲרָדָה וּמְרַב עֲבוּדָה קוֹל מֵר יֵצֵרַח אֲנָה אֲלֵךְ
 מְרוּחָךְ וְאֲנָה מִפְּנֵיךָ אֶבְרַח:
 יִיעֲפוּ בּוֹעֵרִים וְנוֹקְשׁוֹ חֲשָׁכִים וְאֲנִי רַק דְּבַרְךָ נֵר לְרַגְלִי
 יַעֲזֹר מִחֲבִיזוֹן כְּדוֹ וְלֵהֵב מְשׁוֹשׁ יַעֲזֵר נַפְשִׁי לוֹ פְּדִיּוֹן מִקּוֹד יְגוֹנִים מִלֵּב יַבְעִיר יַעֲזֹר לֵב
 אֲבִיזוֹן אַחַר שְׁתוֹתוֹ מְלוֹכֵד עִיר אֵד בּוֹ תְּתִימַר כֹּל עוֹד אֱלֹהִים רוּחָךְ שְׁמֵר
 יִקַּד בְּלִבִּי יִקוֹד אֵשׁ הַמְּלֵהֵט וְקֵט לְוִלִי דְמַעוֹת עֲזֵרוּנִי שְׂרַפְנִי
 יִרֵא מֵהֵם וְעֲלֵיהֶּ לְבָבִי בְּלֵב אִשָּׁה מְשַׁפְּלֵת יְחִידָה
 יֵשׁ בְּכוֹס פְּלֵא וְסוּד נִמְצָא בָּהּ כְּמוֹ הָאוֹת וְהַמוֹפֵת
 יִשְׂיֵא לְבָבוֹת בְּדָבָר רַק וְנִפְתַּת וְלֹא נִבִּין הִכִּי חִישׁ בְּכַף קִלְעַ יִשְׁיַמְנוּ
 יִשְׁנֵה בְּחִיק יִלְדוֹת לְמַתִּי תִשְׁכַּבִּי דְעִי כִּי נְעוּרִים כְּנַעֲרַת נִנְעָרוּ
 יִתְהַפֵּךְ עֵינֹו בְּכוֹס אֲלִי שְׁבַעָה עֵינַיִם חֲלֵשׁ דְּמִיזוֹנוֹ כְּכַפִּיר בְּבוֹאוֹ תוֹדַ מַעֲמִים גִּלְעָג
 וּבַעֲיֵנוֹ יִלְעַג לְחֲרַטְמֵי מִצְרַיִם כְּלִיז לֹא הוֹמַר עַל כֵּן צָבִי רִיחוֹ לֹא נָמַר
 כִּי־אֲשֶׁר לְבָבִי בַעֲיֵנוֹ נִפְקַד גַּם עַל פִּשְׁעֵי בִידוֹ נִשְׁקַד דְּרַשׁ תְּנוּאוֹת וְאִפּוֹ פִּקַּד צַעֲק
 בְּאֵף רַב לְךָ עֲזָבִנִי אֵל תְּהַדְּפֵנִי וְאֵל תִּתְעַנֵּי
 כְּבוֹדָה כְּבַת מְלֹךְ עֲדִינָה מְעַנְגָה רִיחָה כְּרִיחַ מֵר מִקְטָר וְכִשְׂרָפָה
 כְּבָר שְׁכַחוּנִי הֶעֱרָבָה וְהִזְמַן חֲצָרִי בְעִירִי אֵן יְדִידִי חֲצָרִי
 כְּהִתָּה עֵין אוֹהֶבֶם כִּי אֵינִימוֹ אֲשֶׁרִי עֵין אֲשֶׁר עוֹד תְּחַזְּמוּ
 כְּזֹאת יַעֲשֶׂה הָאֵל לְאִישׁ גְּבַהּ בְּנַעֲרוֹתוֹ בְּטוֹב שְׁעָרוֹ וּבִיפּוֹת תְּאָרוֹ
 לְחֵי עֲזָבִנִי וְכַמֵּת חֲשַׁבְנִי וְחֲטָאִי סָבַבְנִי וְדוּיִי וּמְכַאוּבִי

כי מת וגם ירד לשאול ברב חשק כלה באהבתו אותך וגם נספה
 כי נראתה לי מרחוק חשבתי יונה תדלג על שדה והיא עפה
 כל בעלי השיר חרדו לעמתו אף יעטו בשת כלם וגם חרפה
 כל הזמנים מימי קדם נתנו ידיהם אל זמנך
 כמה איחל וכמה יבער כמו אש חרוני
 כמה לבבך יאבל כמה דמעות תשאבי
 כסהר במולדו כתרה עלי ראשה שהיא משהמת כלה מישפה
 כפר עוני ושא חטאתי ומחה פשעי במי דמעת
 כשמש מרומים הכי את גבירה ואם את בפי כל אנשים צעירה
 כתב סתו בדיו מטרו וברביביו ובעט ברקיו המאירים וכף עביו
 לא אהלך במחשפים ואתה אור נתיבי וברך מנתי ויחבלי
 לא ידאגו לעד לבד משד פרוז וזה לזה מאד יתאב
 לא כמשפטי תדינון עלימו חפשו היטב ודינום כשלמה
 לא מתמול פיות שחוק נמלאו עד כי בך יוסף לבבות גאו
 לא נמנעו מבא ברסן משקלי השיר אבל שמעו שמך ובאו
 לבבוני עיני צבי לי שרת לב אדוניו יצוד בלא מכמרת
 לבי בשביה נשאו לא אדעה אם יסרו אותו באף אם רחמו
 לבי כתנור לפרוד יוסף גם עד יהודה כבדי שסף וכאב שלישים באבלי יסף כי
 ממרריו בנפשי נתלו קירות לבבי כמוהם חלו
 לבעבור כי יום יהי מעלה צרי למכתך ויום יכה
 להללך בכל שחרי ונשפי לשוני ידרשה תמיד וגם פי
 לו אחזה פניו בלבי ביתה לא שאלו עיני להביט חוצה
 לו חכמה נפש רוח מרדפת כי היא לבדה מתבל תרומתי
 לחיה כשושנה בדם מאדמת אראה כשפים בה ואינה מכשפה
 ליל מחשבות לב אעירה ונדד אהובים אזכירה ארעד בחילי מבכירה אולי פניהם
 אכירה עש עם כסיל וברבי כסיל לנביא פסיל יערך נגדי עצבי יבל לבי ובל נרפא
 אבל רפאי כדי

לָךְ אֵלֵי [וְ] צוֹר חִילִי מִנְסֻתִי בְּצַרְתִּי בְּךָ שִׁבְרִי וְתַקְוֹתֵי אֵילוּתֵי בְּגִלוּתֵי לָךְ כָּל מִשְׁאַלוֹת
 לְבִי וְעַרְךָ כָּל תַּאֲוֹתַי פְּדֵה עִבְדְּךָ לָךְ צַעַק מִיַּד רִדְיוֹ וְקַמְיוֹ נִפְלְאֵה־נָא בְּיַד־יְיָ כִּי־רַבִּים
 רַחֲמָיו

לָךְ לָךְ לְאִמְרִים כִּי הַזְמַן יִכְלֶה וַיִּתֵּם

לְכִי אֶל שְׂמוּאֵל שְׁעֵלָה בְּאַרְצֵנוּ כְּעֵלוֹת שְׂמוּאֵל בְּרָמָה וּבִמְצַפָּה
 לְכֹן בָּעֵת חֲמֻדָּה אֲדַמָּה פָּנֵי שַׁחַק רַקְמָה עָלַי בְּדֵי עֲרוּגוֹת כְּכוֹכְבֵי
 לְמָאֵד אֶהְבֵּתִיךָ אִין קוֹץ לְאֶהְבֵּתִיךָ הַנְּגִי בְּחַנְנִי וְלְבִי בְּזֹאת צָרְפָה
 לְמָה וַיְחִידְתִּי בְּדָם תַּתְּגֹלְלִי אִם עַל פְּשַׁעִיךָ מָאֵד תַּתְּחַלְּחֵלִי
 לְמָה וַיִּנְיֹאוֹן לְבָבִי לְמָה אִם בְּעֵבוֹר חֲטָא וּבִגְלָל אֲשַׁמָּה אֲשַׁמָּה בְּיַפְיָךְ אֲדַנִּי שְׁמָה אֶל
 יֵט לְבָבְךָ בְּנִיב מַעֲנִי אִישׁ מַעֲקָשִׁים וּבּוֹא נִסְנִי
 לְמַעַן בְּנִי אָדָם בְּמַחֲשָׁכִים בְּאַרְץ וְאַתֶּם כְּהַרְסִיָּה
 לְמַעַן פְּעַלְתוּ אֲשֶׁר נֶאֱמַנָה

לְנוֹדֶךָ בְּקַרְבֵי אֹר וְגוֹפֵי בְּתוֹךְ יְאוֹר בְּשֻׁטְפוֹ וּמִי יוֹכֵל נְשֵׂא אֹר וְזָרִם
 לְפִי כִי אֶת לֵלֵב כְּמוֹ הַכַּף לְכַף

לְקִרְאוֹת מְקוֹר חַיִּי אֶמֶת אַרְוָצָה עַל כֵּן בְּחַיִּי שְׁוֹא וְרִיק אַקּוּצָה
 לְרֵאוֹת פָּנֵי מַלְכֵי מִנְגַמְתִּי לְבַד לֹא אֶעְרָץ בְּלִתּוֹ וְלֹא אֶעְרִיצָה
 לְרֵאוֹת שְׂמוּאֵל הַרְוָאָה אֲנִי עוֹלָה לְהִיּוֹת לְבֵיתוֹ סוֹבְבַת וּמְקִיפָה
 לְשׂר רַבִּי נְסִים כְּתָב רִיב וְתוֹכַחַת מֵאֵת יְדִידוֹ עִם יְדִידוֹ מְשַׁלַּחַת

לְמֵאֵהָב יְדֵי תַרְפִּינָה וּלְפִירוֹד עֵינֵי תִבְכִּינָה

מֵאֶהְבֵּתָה בָּהּ תִּגְמַר שִׁיר אֶהְבָּה וְשִׁיר מִזְמוֹר לְלִין בְּחִיקָה כְּצִרּוֹר מִר צִיר נֶאֱמָן
 נִשְׁבַּע לְאֹמֵר בְּאַלְלָה רְסוּל קָל לְלִכְלִיל כִּיף אֶלְסָבִיל וַיְבִית עַנְדִּי כְּלָף אֶלְחַגְנָל נְעֻטִיָּה
 דְּלֹאֵל עָלַי אֶלְנִכְבָּאֵל וְנִזִּיד נַהֲדִי

מֵאֲז אֲבוֹתָיו נִקְרְאוּ רַבֵּי תְּעוּדוֹת נִפְלְאוֹ שְׂאֵל כְּתוּבוֹת נִשְׂאוֹ הֵן עַל לְבָבוֹ נִמְצְאוּ עִפְר
 בְּגִיל שְׁמֵשׁ כְּגִיל דַּת בּוֹ אֲגִיל הֵן וְהֵד תְּעוּדֵי מַטִּים גָּאֵל חֲפָצֶךָ שְׂאֵל אֶתְּךָ וְאֵל יִרְפְּךָ
 חֲסָדִי

מֵאֲסוֹ כָּל זֶה וְתִמְהוּ עַל יְקוּוֹתֵי־אֵל אֲשֶׁר תָּם

מִדְּבַר מוֹם בְּאִישׁ חֵיל הַמַּיּוֹם יַעֲשֶׂה לַיִל

מֵה טוֹב וּמֵה נְעִים אֲשֶׁר נִתַּן לָךְ אֱלֹהֵי קִיָּם לְעוֹלָם תִּתְּאוֹר

מה־יתאונן ויאמר מה ידבר ויצטדק יציר חמר אשר נחשב גויתו כאבק דק מה־יתן
 לך אדם אם ירשע ואם יצדק הלא מליו ומפעליו כתובים במספר ימיו נפלה־גא
 בנדיי כִּירְבִים רחמיו

מה לך אל בוערים לך לך אל יועצים בתבונה ואלף מעשיהם וחסם
 מה לך תלך מר דודי ועמי יין חמר

מה ערבו לי ימי חברה ומתקו לולי אשר עברו כצל ורחקו
 מה תשימון עוד לבבכם לעלותם או לרדתם

מהרי שובי תנומת עינימו ואני מאין תנומה אבכמו

מי זאת כמו שחר עולה ונשקפה תאיר כאור חמה ברה מאד יפה

מי יתנה תחנן אותי בחברה וטרם מות ביד הנדוד תשוב תחניני

מי יתנני לחזותו בחלום אישן שנת עולם ולא אקיצה

מיום נדד גלוי גילי ובעת רחוק חלו חילי ואימות מות נפלו עלי עצמותי כעש תכלינה
 ובאש אהב תכנינה

מכתב עלי גן מתכלת וארגמן לא נתפנו כהם לחשב במחשבי

מעשי אדני הדרושים בקהל קדושים

מצביים אזהבה הצבי המצדד אז ידידי יהי

מצדק ללא נודע מהולל וכוסה עלי ברי בשמא

מריב חדל נא ואם משפט אמת תדרשה הבט ויפיה ראה טרם תריבני

משד חשק לבי נשבר אף ציר פרוז עלי יגבר וברואותי נחל עבר כי מדם לבב

תדלינה על כן לרגע לא תדמינה

משמן בשרי ידל וכאב לבבי יגדל

נאור ממעונך אל תעלם עינך ונקם בימינך אל ממתקוממים

נגדם כרובים ברום מרומים לשמו מברכים בחיל ואימים דבר מדבר אמת ותמים

כי לא ללכתם כאנושים לקראת נחשים

נומי אהה נגול ברח אהה גוזל מאהלי דמעני אהה יזל עפרי אהה אזל מי גוזאלי

נוגן שלח אצבע לעות חלילך טוב מענה אלם אבל יבע צחות כולך כן יענה שלש

וגם ארבע על פי נבליך בשמאל מנה שירים נצר על דל שפה ואל יחדל מפי כלי

שיר קול אשר יגדל עתים ועת ידל לא מחלי

נוֹעֲצוּ גַם רְגִשׁוּ וְעַל גְּבֵי חָרְשׁוּ וְעַלִּי יִתְלַחֲשׁוּ לִלְלוֹת וְגַם יָמִים
 נִחְמוּנֵי נַחְמוּ כִּי קָרְבִי יִהְיֶה עֲלֵיכֶם עֲצֹמוּ וְשִׁנְתִּי רִתְקָה נִדְדָה גַם עֲתֻקָה
 נַחַר בְּקִרְאֵי גְרוּנֵי דְבַק לְחִכֵּי לְשׁוֹנֵי
 נַפְשֵׁי פְדוּתֶיךָ גְבִירֵי מֹשֶׁה כִּי גַם אֲנִי מִבְּכֵי לֹא אֲחַשֶׁה עַד בֹּא תִלְאוֹת בְּחַזְיוֹן קֶשֶׁה
 לֹא בִצְעוּ יוֹם כְּנֹשֶׁר קִלּוֹ עַד כִּי בְנַפְשֵׁי יִדְדֶיךָ כֻּלּוֹ
 נִפְתָּה וְקִמְנוּ אֵלַי בֵּית אָמוֹ וַיֵּט לְעַל סִבְלֵי אֶת שִׁכְמוֹ לִילָה וַיִּזְמַם אֲנִי רַק עִמּוֹ אֲפַשֵׁט
 בְּגִדָיו וַיִּפְשִׁיטֵנִי אֵינֶק שִׁפְתָיו וַיִּינִיקֵנִי

סָב שְׁתֵּה כְהֵם וְאִם יָרִיב בְּךָ אִישׁ אָמַר לוֹ קַח לְךָ זְהוּב וְצֹא
 סוּר וְאַל תֵּט אַחֲרַי רֹדְפֵי רַע בְּרֹדְפִים וְאַמֶּת עוֹזְבִים

עֲזָר נַפְשֵׁי אִישִׁי וְנִשְׁאַנֵּי עַל כַּף

עֵינֵי מֵרֵב בְּכִי כֶהוּ

עַל כֵּן בַּחַיִּי שׁוֹא וְרִיק אֶקוּצָה לְקִרְאֵת מְקוֹר חַיִּי אֶמֶת אַרְוִצָה
 עֲלֵיכֶם בְּנֵי תוֹרָה וְתוֹפְשֵׁיָהּ עֲלֵיכֶם לְגִלוֹת אֶת כְּמוֹסֶיהָ
 עֲנֵנֵי יִי עֲנֵנֵי בְקִרְאֵי מִן הַמִּצַּר וְאַל תִּבְזֶה עֲנוֹת עֲנִי צַעַק מִתְגַּרֵּת צָר וַיִּוֹדַע בְּעַמִּים כִּי
 יִדְדֶיךָ לֹא תִקְצַר וַיִּשָׁר מַעֲוֶה מוֹדָה וּמִתְוֹדָה עַל עֲלֻמְיוֹ נִפְלֶה-נָא בִּידְלִי כִּי-רַבִּים רַחֲמָיו
 עִפְרָ מִדֵּי יָפִי לְבָשׁ וּפְאָר הַחֹן לְבַדּוֹ חֲבֹשׁ חִפּוֹ מִתּוֹק מִצּוּף וּדְבֹשׁ עֵינַיִם אוֹתוֹ תִרְאִינָה
 מִרְאוֹת לְעַד לֹא תִכְהִינָה

פְּאָרְנוּ נִתְעַב וְלִבְנוּ נִכְאָב כִּי אֵין לָנוּ אֵב הֵיִינוּ יִתְמִים

פִּי כּוֹס בְּפִי עִפְרָ צִפָּה יֵינִי וּמִגִּדּוֹ פֶּה אֵל פֶּה אֵין לִי בְמוֹסָרְךָ מִרְפָּא נָא קִט מְעַט מִנִּי
 הִרְפָּה רּוּפָא אֵלִיל אֲשַׁמַּע חֲלִיל רֹחַ עַל צִלִּיל יֵין בְּפִי כִדִּי מִרִּיב גְּדֵל מִכְאוֹב חֲדָל
 אֲשַׁאֵל כְּדָל מִצְבֵּי נִרְדֵּי

צִמְתַּתְנִי אֶהְבֵּה כִּי לִידֵי אַרְבֵּה נִפְלָה כְּנִפְלֵ שְׂבָא בְּחֲרֵי אִף דִּלְקָה אֶת לְבָבִי בַתְּקָה
 צָעִיר אֲנִי וְנִכְאָה חֲסִדְךָ אִזְ אַרְבָּה כְּמוֹ-זֶקֶן גֹּאֵה יִשְׁרָדְרֶךָ תְּמִים
 צֶרֶלִי עֲלֵי חֲשָׁקִים בְּדַמְעָה יִבְטַחוּ וּבִיּוֹם כָּאֵב עַל-הַדָּמִי יִשְׁעֵנוּ

קְדָשְׁךָ הִתְרִיבוּ וְאֵתִי הִסְחִיבוּ לְרַגְלֵי הַצִּיבוּ מִצּוּדִים וְחִתְרִים

קוּמָה בְּשַׁחַר וְשׁוּר יִרְעֵת שַׁחַק בְּכֶסֶף וּפִז נְקוּדָה

קַח מִצְבֵּי כּוֹס וְאָמַר לוֹ קַחָה בְּקִבּוּק וְרוּץ לְכַד וּמְלֹא וְהִבִּיא

קמתי אני ואעיד ברשות רב וצעיר יה פי בחין אפער ותעל לי רחמים
 קרבה ואל תרחק ובצל נה עפר בוא לחסות יד נופפה ודחק יתר בניב שפר הפלא
 עשות וכאצבעות יצחק השר בעט סופר עת תופשות מה דל ומה נדגל עטו כרוץ
 גלגל רץ על גלילי פז שאב מגל הודו עדי יגל כשאב דלי

רבו מריבי ולא אשמעם בוא הצבי ואני אכניעם וזמן יכלם ומות ירעם בוא הצבי
 קום והבריאני מצוץ שפתך והשביעני

רדנו לתרפות ונהי לשרפות בכשיל וכילפות בית קדשך הלקים

רעית צבי מבור שבי התפתחי ריח בגדיך לבשרו שלחי

רצתי לקרבתה עת שראיתיה עת ראתה אותי אז כסתה אפה

שאלו היזרח אור בחשכנו ואם יבקעו עוד שחרי לילינו

שאלו נא את שלומי כי כל דוד אל ידידו סר ושואל בשלומו

שב הזמן על קו וכל אח לא יעקב וכל ילד יכבד אב

שיר אהובי מענה [... ..נה] שיר ידידות תענה עאשקן אעתנקא רב לא
 תפתרקא

שמואל מת בנו לברט ועמדת עלי בנו

שיר אח מפרד בלבי כידוד ישיר כעלמה לבבה ידוד כי מועדה בא ולא בא הדור

בניד לפשכה איון שנאלו כם כנגד מו קריון פראלו

שיר נעלם גלה סודו נפש בשם שר וכבודו זה פעמון למעיל הודו חלף כתב רקמת

ידו רקמת כליל זהב כליל שיר מגליל מערב תעדי זה הכלל ממהלל שולל כלל כל

יקר חמדי

שלוס לגבר ששוניו הגלו חדלו מנחמיו אהה חדלו

שלל שלליה וכמס באצרותיו ובטח במחמדי זהבה וגם כספה

שמע השר אשר כל שר בך נקרא ונתכנה

שפרה ברוחו שמי שחקים כראי יצוקים וצר חזקים מבטח קצוות וים רחוקים

רחמיו עלי כל הנפשים כל יום חדשים

שתה אחי והשקני עדי כי ביד הכוס יגון לבי אמגן

שברי ושמתתי וחברת אהבי מיום ליום יסעו ואד לא יחנו

שבתי ותלתלי זמן לא שבו וימי נדודים לעלומים שבו

שֶׁחַ בַּעֲבוּר אֵין לְעִנְנָה וְרִכָּה דָת עַד אֲשֶׁר תִּהְיֶה מְלָכִים מְדָכָה
 שְׁמָה יְמִינָךְ עַל צְלָעֵי תְּשִׁיב אֵלַי צְלָעֵי לְבָבוֹ
 שְׁמָחָה בּוֹאֵי תּוֹנָה צְאֵי וְשִׂאוֹן לְבִי מִנִּי הַשֶּׁעַ
 שְׁשׂוֹנָךְ לִי הִשָּׁב וְשׁוֹעַתִּי הִקְשֵׁב אֶל מְלֶךְךָ יֵשֵׁב עַל כִּסֵּא רַחֲמִים
 הַלְאֹת לְבָבִי וּמַחֲמַד עֵינַי עֲפֹר לְצַדִּי וְכוֹס בֵּימִינִי
 תִּדְעַ בְּנִי כִי צוּר יִצְרָךְ נוֹרָא
 תְּהַלֵּת מֵאֲמָרִים תְּהַלֹּת וּזְמִירִים לְיוֹצֵר הַיְצוּרִים וּמִבֵּין מַעֲשֵׂיהֶם
 תּוֹךְ לְבָבִי אֵשׁ יְקוּדִים מְשִׂאוֹן פְּרוּד יְדִידִים
 תִּנְיָד שְׁפָתֶיךָ אֲזִ לְהַשִּׁיבֵנִי כְּאֵלוֹ מְרִיקָה צוּף בְּהֵם וּמְטִיפָה
 תַעֲדָה עַדִּי זָהָב וּמִינֵי בְדִלְחִים וּבְכָל יְקָר אֶבֶן סַפִּיר מְעֵלְפָה
 תִּשְׁחַק פְּנֵי הַיּוֹשְׁבִים לְרַנֵּן אוֹתָם וְאֵשׁ יֹאכַל שְׂאֵר גּוֹיָה
 תִּתְחַל וְאֵם יִגְזוּ אֲנוֹשׁ רֹאשָׁה תַעֲדִיד הַכִּי מִהַחֲלִי חִיָּה

NAMES OF THE METRES IN THE HEBREW TRADITIONS

	Arabic	Israeli Hebrew	Ibn Danān
First Circle	<i>ṭawīl</i>	<i>arok</i>	<i>arok</i>
	<i>madīd</i>	<i>mitmoded</i>	<i>mašuk</i>
	<i>basīt</i>	<i>mitpaššet</i>	<i>pašut</i>
Second Circle	<i>wāfir</i>	<i>mērubbeh</i>	<i>‘odef</i>
	<i>kāmil</i>	<i>šalem and/or ša- lem wē-so‘er</i>	<i>tamim</i>
Third Circle	<i>hazağ</i>	<i>marnin</i>	<i>megil</i>
	<i>rağaz</i>	<i>šalem and/or ša- lem wē-so‘er</i>	<i>ħaruz</i>
	<i>ramal</i>	<i>qalua^c</i>	<i>ħol</i>
Fourth Circle	<i>sari^c</i>	<i>mahir</i>	<i>mēmaher</i>
	<i>munsariħ</i>	<i>dohar</i>	<i>mēyuttar</i>
	<i>ħafīf</i>	<i>qal</i>	<i>qal</i>
	<i>muḏāri^c</i>	<i>domeh</i>	<i>mēdammeħ</i>
	<i>muğtaṭ</i>	<i>qaṭua^c</i>	<i>pasuq</i>
	<i>muqtaḏab</i>	∅	<i>mē’ussaf</i>
Fifth Circle	<i>mutaqārib</i>	<i>mitqareb</i>	<i>mitqareb</i>
	<i>mutadārak</i>	<i>mašlim and/or mišqal ha-tēnu‘ot</i>	<i>tē‘uni</i>

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An Introduction to Andalusí Hebrew Metrics

José Martínez Delgado

Throughout the last two centuries, Hebrew metrics was studied by leading linguists and specialists in medieval Hebrew poetry. Nowadays, it has disappeared from the academic discussion such that it is sometimes even difficult to find scansion or the name of the meter in new editions of poems. This book aims to rectify this gap, helping readers to understand the metric structure of this poetry in order to facilitate the work of editing and cataloguing those samples still in manuscript form for future editors.

Martínez Delgado presents his view of Andalusí Hebrew metrics, as encountered in medieval manuals of Arabic and Hebrew metrics and scattered notes in the works of Andalusí Hebrew philologists. Whilst twentieth-century scholars spoke about the adaptation of Arabic metrics to Hebrew, he instead approaches these compositions by Andalusí Jews (10th-13th c.) as Arabic metrics written in Hebrew, thus emphasising how Hebrew poetry of the Andalusí Jews can help us to understand the general evolution of Arabic strophic poetry, and its experimental evolution, which is quite unlike classical and strophic Arabic poetry.

This method respects the Hebrew vowel system, and does not necessitate alteration of word morphology, leaving the guttural letters quiescent (unless required by metrical license); nor does it necessitate guesses about metres that are not in the classical catalogue. Although the author has not found each and every classical metre from Andalusí Hebrew poetry included in this manual, they are all catalogued, either in case someone finds them in future or because they help us to comprehend the metrical structures that are characteristic of strophic poetry. As such, this monograph will be of great interest to scholars of Hebrew metrics.

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